P. K. Gode;
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SOME NOTES ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF MEDICAL WORKS BY JAIN AUTHORS.

By
P. K. Gode M. A
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Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

In the *Praśastisaṁgraha* or a Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS in the Jaina Siddhāntabhavan at Arrah (Bihar) published by my friend Pandit K. Bhujabali Shastri in 1942, he describes two medical works viz. (1) *Nidāna-muktāvalī* [1] (p. 13) and (2) *Madanakāmaratna* (pp. 14-15). The MSS of these works do not contain any descriptive *praśastis* and hence it is difficult to verify the names of their authors. The Colophon of the *Nidānamuktāvalī* reads "इति पूज्यपादविरचितायां स्वस्थारिष्टनिदानं समाप्तम्". Pandit Bhujabali Shastri informs us that in the body of the verses of this text there is no reference to *Pūjyapāda* or any other author of the text.

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1. Bhujabali Shastri informs us that  a MS in the *Govt. Oriental Library, Madras.*

It is, therefore, difficult to trust merely the Colophon in its statement that the work was composed by *Pūjyapāda* ("पूज्यपादविरचितायां"). The MS of the second work viz. the *Madanakāmaratna* does not also contain any *Praśasti.* It ends with a few verses describing the preparation of a medicine called "पञ्चबाणरस". In the last verse of the formula this preparation is ascribed to पूज्यपाद ("पञ्चबाणरसो नाम पूज्यपादेन निर्मितः"). From this statement also we are unable to conclude that *Pūjyapāda* was the author of this work. As the MSS under reference are not before me, I am unable to say anything about their authorship at present. I propose, however, to make some remarks on the chronology of one of the two works viz. the मदनकामरत्न on the strength of the description given by Pandit Bhujabali Shastri. The end of this MS records the formula of *Pañcabāṇa-rasa* as follows :—

"सुवर्णं रजतं कान्तं वैक्रान्तं तीक्ष्णमन्त्रकम् ।
प्रवालं मुक्तभसितं नागवङ्गं च भास्करम् ॥१॥
एकैकसमभागं च सर्वतुल्यं रसेन्द्रियम् ।
तत्समं शुद्धगन्धश्च हंसपादीरसेन च ॥२॥
कौमारीरससंप्रोक्तं मर्दितश्च दिनत्रयम् ।
काचकुप्यन्तरे[1] क्षिप्त्वा विलेप्य वस्त्रमृत्तिकाम् ॥३॥
वालुकायन्त्रके पक्त्वा षड्यामान्ते समुद्धरेत् ।
चूर्णीकृतं ततःखल्वे शतपत्ररसेन च ॥४॥
दिनत्रयं च यत्नेन चाधिकं सहभावनात् ।
कस्तूरिकां च कर्पूरं भावयेत यथाविधि ॥५॥
शाल्मलीकानि लाक्षाथ गान्धारो सममर्दयेत् ।
वराचन्दनसंयुक्तं कणाक्षौद्रं सिताज्यकम् ॥६॥
विंशतिश्च प्रमेहाणां राजयक्ष्मानन्नेकशः
शुक्रवृद्धिकरश्चैव वन्ध्या च लभते सुतम् ॥७॥
वन्ध्यनष्टं पुष्पनष्टं........मसृग्दरम् ।
रक्तपित्तं चाम्लपित्तं अस्थिस्रावहलीमकम् ॥८॥
अहन्येव रजः स्त्रीणां भवन्ति प्रियदर्शनात् ।

वीर्यवृद्धिकरश्चैव नारीणां रमते शतम् ॥९॥
पञ्चबाणरसो नाम पूज्यपादेन निर्मितः । "

In the above formula of पञ्चबाणरस reference is made to the use of वालुकायन्त्र[1] (Sand bath) and काचकुपि or glass bottle. This reference is important for fixing the earlier limit to the date of the *Madana-Kāmaratna*. In my paper on the "*Use of Kāca or Glass in Indian Pharmacy—Between A. D. 1100 and 1800*" (pp. 147-160 of *Bhāratīya Vidyā* Nov.-Dec. 1946), I have recorded sufficient evidence to prove that the use of *Kāca* or *Glass* (*vessels*) in Indian pharmacy became current some time after A. D. 1100. In view of this evidence it would be reasonable to suppose that the work *Madana-Kāmaratna*, a MS of which has been described by Pt. Bhujabali Shastri was composed some time after A. D. 1100 when the use of the

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1. The use of वालुकायन्त्र with काचकुपि or glass-bottle is described in the following texts on alchemy :—

(i) "*Between 13 th and 14 th Centuries A, D.*"—रसरत्नसमुच्चय of Vāghbhaṭa—Book IX of this work deals with *Yantras* in which वालुकायन्त्र with काचकलसी is described (See p. 69 of *History of Hindu Chemistry* by P. C. Ray, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1902).

(ii) "*13th Cent. A. D.*"–रसप्रकाशसुधाकर of यशोधर (ed. by J.K. Shastri, Gondal, 1940) contains many references to वालुकायन्त्र such as—

"रूचिर काचघटीविनिवेशितो
सिकतयन्त्रवरेण हि दिनत्रयम् ।"

(See also pp. 116, 169, 175 etc.)



(iii) "*13 th Century A. D.*"—रसरत्नाकर of नित्यनाथसिद्ध (ed. by J. K. Shastri, Gondal, 1940—ऋद्धिखण्ड-वादिखण्ड) refers to वालुकायन्त्र with काचकुपि (p. 73—"सच्छिद्रे वालुकायन्त्रे कूप्यामारोपितं पचेत्")

(iv) "*14 th Century A. D.*"—शार्ङ्गधरसंहिता (ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1917) refers to वालुकायन्त्र with कुपिका (pp. 167-168) etc.

(v) धातुकल्प of रुद्रयामलतन्त्र refers to वालुकायन्त्र (See folio 56 of B. O. R. Institute MS No *No 1145* of *1886-92*—"शिरये वालुकयंत्रगे"

Vālukāyantra (Sand bath) with glass (*Kāca*) bottles had become current in India. At any rate this work is definitely later than A.D. 1000.

According to Pandit Bhujabali Shastri's description the *Madana-Kāmaratna* records formulae for other *rasas* like महापूर्णचन्द्रोदय, लोह, अग्निकुमार, पुष्पबाणरस,[1] ज्वरबलफणिगरुड, कालकूट, रत्नाकर, उदयमार्तण्ड, सुवर्णमात्स्य, प्रतापलंकेश्वर, राजेश्वर, बालसूर्योदय (2 varieties). A history of these formulae ought to be reconstructed from the extant works on *rasavidyā*. The present work also deals with such topics as कर्पूरगुण, मृगहारभेद, कस्तूरीभेद, कस्तूरी-अनुपान, कस्तूरीपरीक्षा etc. If a complete MS of this work becomes available for study we may be able to gather more data to clarify the problem of its chronology.

Besides the निदानमुक्तावली and मदनकामरत्न described in the *Praśastisaṁgraha* by Bhujabali, we find his description of a few other medical MSS as specified below :—

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1. The *Śārṅgadhara-Saṁhitā* (ed. by P.L. Vaidya, Poona, 1917) pp. 202-203 (Khaṇḍa II, Chap. 12, verses 87-94) contains a formula for मदनकामदेवरस which is similar in some respects with that for पञ्चबाणरस as will be seen from the following verses :—

तारं वज्रं सुवर्णं च ताम्रं सूतकगन्धकम्। लोहं क्रमविवृद्धानि कुर्यादेतानि मात्रया ॥८७॥
विमर्द्य कनकाद्रावैन्र्यसेत् काचमयेघटे। विमुद्रय पिठरीमध्ये धारयेत्सैंधवावृते ॥८८॥
पिठरीं मुद्रयेत्सम्यक् ततश्चुल्यां निवेशयेत्। वह्निं शनैःशनैःकुर्यादिनैकं तत उद्धरेत् ॥८९॥
स्वांगशीतं च संचूर्ण्य भावयेदर्कदुग्धकैः। अश्वगंधा च काकोली वानरी मुसलीक्षुरा ॥९०॥
त्रित्रिवेलं रसैरेषां शतावर्याश्च भावयेत्। पद्मकंदकसेरूणां रसैःकाशस्य भावयेत् ॥९१॥
कस्तूरी व्योपकर्पूरकंकोलैलालवंगकम्। पूर्वचूर्णादष्टमांशमेतच्चूर्णं विमिश्रयेत् ॥९२॥
सर्वैःसमा शर्करा च दत्वा शाणोन्मितं पिबेत्। गोदुग्धत्रिपलेनैव मधुराहारसेवकः ॥९३॥
अस्य प्रभावात्सौंदर्यं स लभेन्नात्र संशयः। तरुणी रमयेद्बह्वीःशुक्रहानिर्न जायते ॥९४ ॥

According to Pandit D. K. Shastri "*Śārṅgadhara*, the author of the *Saṁhitā* definitely lived in the *Fourteenth Century*" (Vide p 84 of *Journal of Gujarat Research Society*, April-July 1945—Pt. Shastri's article on "*Medical Science in Gujarat*")

For the pictures of *Vālukāyantra* and other Yantras see Plates I to VI of *Aryan Medical Science* by Thakore Saheb of Gondal, London, 1896, p. 144. The origin and development of these *Yantras* need to be studied chronologically. The Thakore Saheb makes no remarks on the history of these *Yantras*.

Page 50—कल्याणकारक (in Sanskrit verse) by उग्रादित्य pupil of श्रीनन्दि, composed in a *Jina* temple on *Rāmagiri* in *Trikalinga* country. This work mentions previous authors like पूज्यपाद, पात्रस्वामी (=पात्रकेशरी ?), सिद्धसेन, दशरथ गुरु, मेघनाद, सिंहनाद, समन्तभद्र, श्रुतकीर्ति, कुमारसेन, वीरसेन, जटाचार्य etc.

Page 149—सारसंग्रह (in Sanskrit verse) by विजयरणोपाध्याय. The work mentions पूज्यपाद, वाग्भट, सुश्रुत etc. Those who are interested in the history of Indian medical literature in general and Jain medical literature in particular, will find the above information useful.

There are some MSS of medical works by Jain authors in the *Bombay University Collection.* They have been described by Prof. G. V. Devasthali in his *Des. Catalogue* of these MSS (1944), *Book I.* I note below some particulars of these MSS :—

Page 80-81—ज्वरपराजय by जयरत्न, pupil of भावरत्न (a *Svetāmbara* Jaina). भावरत्न composed a commentary on ज्योतिर्विदाभरण in *A. D. 1705.* जयरत्न composed his दोषरत्नावली also in *A. D. 1705* (Cf. No. 1347 of 1884-87 in B. O. R Institute MSS library.)

Page 100—वैद्यवल्लभ by हस्तरुचि, pupil of हितरुचि, who himself was a pupil of प्राज्ञोदयरुचि of तपागच्छ. This work was composed in *A. D. 1670.*

Page 109—लघुविवृति (on आश्चर्यरत्नमाला of नागार्जुन) by गुणाकर. "This work of नागार्जुन is commented upon by a Śvetāmbara Jains physician named गुणाकर in *Samvat 1296* (*C. 1240 A. D*)". observes Prof. Devasthali. On *p. 110* the colphon of another MS of लघुविवृति describes गुणाकर as follows :— "श्री सिद्धवटीय श्वेताम्बरपण्डित श्री गुणाकर (विरचिता)"

Page 119—योगचिन्तामणि by हर्षकीर्ति of the तपागच्छ of नागपुर (pupil of चन्द्रकीर्ति)—About A. D. 1575.

In the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute there are many MSS of medical works. These have been described by Dr. Har Datta Sharma in his *Des. Catalogue of Vaidyaka* MSS (Vol. XVI, Part I, 1939) published by the B. O. R. Institute. I note below Jain medical works from this Catalogue :—

Pages 8-9—अनुपानमञ्जरी by पीतांबर. Composed in A. D. 1766. (Is this author a Jain ?)

Pages 138-139—निघण्टुशेष by हेमचन्द्र (Ed. by Parab and others in 1889 and also in अभिधानसंग्रह (Nos. 6-10), containing other works of Hemacandra (*A. D. 1092-1173*).

Page 193—योगचिन्तामणि of हर्षकीर्ति (Text with Gujarati Tanslation).

Page 207—योगरत्नमाला of नागार्जुन with विवृति of गुणाकर (Several MSS)-in the colophon (on p. 210 of the Catalogue) गुणाकर is referred to as "सिद्धघटीय-श्वेतांबरपंडित"

Page 227—योगशतकटीका by पूर्णसेन, who bows to श्रीवर्द्धमान in the verse of the beginning.

Pages 326-327—वैद्यकसारोद्धार by हर्षकीर्ति (Same as योगचिन्तामणि described on p. 193 of the Catalogue).

Pages 350-351—वैद्यमनोत्सव by नयनसुख (Son of केशव) a contemporary of Akbar—written in Hindi verses—Dr. Sharma says that the author was a Jain monk.

Page 355—वैद्यवल्लभ by हस्तिरुचि, disciple of हितरुचिगणि of तपागच्छ—The work was composed in *A. D. 1670* (Saṁvat 1726).

Page 311—वैद्यकग्रंथ in Canarese language with Sanskrit verses here and there. It is ascribed to पूज्यपाद on account of a verse on folio 82 which reads :—'सर्वभूतहितार्थाय पूज्यपादेन भाषितम्'

In expressing his doubt about Pūjyapāda's authorship of the *Vaidyakagrantha* in Canarese language, Dr. Sharma observes :—

"The Madras Oriental MSS Catalogue, Vol. XXIII, mentions पूज्यपाद as the the author of the औषधयोगग्रंथ (p. 8818), निदानमुक्तावली (p. 8857), मदनकामरत्न (p. 8875), रत्नाकराद्यौषधयोगग्रंथ (p. 8880), रसरत्नाकर (p. 8892), रुदन्त्यादिकल्प (p. 8898) and वैद्यसारसंग्रह (p. 8919). In the Colophon of निदानमुक्तावली we read—

"श्रीमज्जठरदेशिकमन्त्रवादषड्भाषाकविचक्रवर्ति—श्रीपूज्यपादस्वामिविरचिते सिद्धान्तिमाष्ये अरिष्टनिदानो नाम द्वादशोध्यायः ॥"

The MSS of निदानमुक्तावली and मदनकामरत्न in the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavan at Arrah, described by Bhujabali Shastri are copies from the Madras MSS of these works. I have already recorded evidence

to prove that one of these two MSS viz. the मदनकामरत्न is later than A. D. 1000. I shall feel thankful if any of our Jain friends at Arrah or elsewhere verifies my evidence. The habit of ascribing every medical compilation to पूज्यपाद had its origin possibly in the desire to induce respect for it from subsequent generations of readers.

In the *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937, p. 518 there is a short article on पूज्यपाद based on कर्नाटक कविचरित्र in Canarese by R. Narasiṁhācārya (pp. 159, 165). I note some points below from this article connected with the life-history of पूज्यपाद and his works :—

(1) पूज्यपाद flourished *about A. D. 600*

(2) He is referred to with respect by Kannaḍa authors but no work of his in Kannaḍa language has come down to us.

(3) He is possibly the author of two Sanskrit works समाधिशतक and कल्याणकारक. *Meghacandra* (A. D. 1148) wrote a commentary on the समाधिशतक in Kannaḍa language, which is still extant. The कल्याणकारक is a work on Medicine. Its Kannaḍa translation by जगद्दळ सोमनाथ is called कर्नाटक-कल्याणकारक.

I cannot verify these points as I am not conversant with the Kannaḍa language. I may, however, point out that Bhujabali Shastri in his *Praśastisaṁgraha* under reference describes a work on Medicine (pp. 50-57) called "कल्याणकारक" by one उग्रादित्याचार्य. I wonder if this कल्याणकारक is identical with the कल्याणकारक ascribed to पूज्यपाद. Bhujabali Shastri states (p. 55) that उग्रादित्य refers to पूज्यपाद among previous authors mentioned by him.

The *Descriptive Catalogue of Medical MSS* in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, Vol. XIII (1918) has already been referred to by me. Some notes from this Catalogue on medical works by Jain authors may be recorded here :—

Page 8851—नाडीविज्ञान with Āndhra Commentary. I cannot say if the author of the work was a Jain. He, however, bows to श्रीवर्धमान in the verse at the beginning. The work contains quotations from गदसञ्जीविनी.

Page 8857—निदानमुक्तावली (already referred to by me above). The Catalogue says that it "was written by पूज्यपाद." "The work is also called सिद्धांतिमष्य." In a colophon of a

MS of this work (*P. 8858*) the work is ascribed to a physician देवचन्द्र ("देवचन्द्रभिषग्विरचितायां निदानमुक्तावल्याम्")

Page 8875—मदनकामरत्न with *Āndhra* commentary (the chronology of this work has already been discussed by me).

Page 8879—रत्नाकराद्यौषधयोगग्रन्थ—"The work is attributed to पूज्यपाद"

Page 8897—रूदन्त्यादिकल्प—पूज्यपाद is mentioned at the end of the MS ("भूमौ सर्व-जनानुरञ्जकरं श्रीपूज्यपादोदितम्")

Page 8908—वैद्यविषय—काचकुपि is mentioned in the verse at the beginning as follows :—
"तच्छुत्वा सूर्यताप्योमुशिदिनयुगलं काचकुप्यानिधाय"
—पूज्यपाद is referred to in the last verse as follows :—
"नराणामुपकाराय पूज्यपादेन निर्मितम्"

Page 8919—वैद्यसारसंग्रह—Refers to पूज्यपाद at the end :—
"रचितमिदं भाषितं पूज्यपादैः"

Page 8935—गुणपाठ—The author bows to जिन at the beginning —
"श्रीमाद्यं जिनमानम्य कायजेषु निवारणम्"

I hope the foregoing notes on the MSS of medical works ascribed to Jain authors would be useful to those who intend to study in detail the exact nature of the contribution of the Jainas to Indian medical literature with the help of the manuscripts now available in different libraries, private or public.

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DATE OF YOGARATNĀKARA, AN ANONYMOUS MEDICAL COMPENDIUM — BETWEEN A.D. 1650 AND 1725

By

Professor P. K. GODE, M.A.

AUFRECHT[1] records only one MS of a work on medicine called the *yogaratnākara*. This MS has been described in the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library.[2] AUFRECHT records another work having the title *yogaratnākara*[3] but it is different from the work of which three editions have been published. Two of these editions have been published in Poona[4] while the third has been published at Mysore.[5] The Editors of these editions have made no attempt to give us any information about the author of this popular medical compendium, which has come down to us anonymous. They do not also discuss the date of the work beyond stating that it is quite

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[1] *CC II, p. 111*—" योगरत्नाकर· Med. IO 1961. It quotes the *Nirṇayasindhu* and is therefore a comparatively modern compilation."

[2] Vide p. 957 of *Ind. Office Catalogue,* Part V, 1896 — MS 2709 (1961)—fair Devanāgarī writing of 1815 A.D. *Yogaratnākara,* an anonymous compilation on the cure of internal diseases, on the same plan as the *yogataraṅgiṇi,* which it repeatedly quotes. Authorities quoted by the *yogaratnākara* are :— ङ्गसेवन, वृन्द, योगसार, योग सागर, अश्विनीकुमारसंहिता, आरोग्यदर्पण, चक्रदत्त, चन्द्रसेन, चिकित्साकलिका, चिकित्सासार, नवरत्न-माला, **निर्णयसिन्धु** (fol. 73b), बौद्धसर्वस्व, भावप्रकाश, मतिमुकुर, माधव, योगचिन्तामणि (fol. 84a), योगतरङ्गिणी, योगप्रदीप, योगरत्नसमुच्चय, योगरत्नावली, योगशत, रत्नप्रदीप, रसरत्न--प्रदीप, रसरत्नाकर, रसार्णव, रसेन्द्रचिन्तामणि, राजमार्तण्ड, रुद्रतन्त्र, लीलावती (on a question of arithmetic), वाग्भट, वृद्धवाग्भट, वैद्यजीवन, वैद्यविलास, वैद्यालंकार, वोपदेवशत, शंकरमत, शार्ङ्गधर, शिवागम, सारसंग्रह, भट्टारक हरिश्चन्द्र, हारीत, वृद्धहारीत.

[3] *CCI, 478*—"योगरत्नाकर yoga by Vīreśvarānanda. L. 2003. Quoted in Lauhapradīpa W. p. 301."

[4] *Yogaratnākara* (Anandashram Sans. Series, Poona, 1889). Ed. by Anna Moreśvara KUNTE, B.A., M.D. This edition is based on the following seven MSS:—

क—Belonging to Appasahib Purandare of Poona.

ख—dated Śaka 1701 = A.D. 1779 belonging to Sakharam Shastri Date of Poona.

ग—dated Śaka 1714 = A.D. 1792 belonging to Bhau Saheb Nagarkar of Poona.

घ—dated Śaka 1668 = A.D. 1746 belonging to Harabhaṭṭa Lagvankar.

ङ—Belonging to Gangadharrao Gadgil of वैराजक्षेत्र.

च—dated Śaka 1771 = A.D. 1849 belonging to Bandunana Ranade of Poona.

छ—belonging to Balshastri Mate of Poona.

This work was reprinted in A.D. 1900.

[5] *Yogaratnākara* with Kannaḍa and Telugu translations, Govt. Ori. Library, Mysore, 1900 (Part I).

modern. In view of these circumstances I propose in this paper to attempt a discussion regarding the probable chronology of the work, leaving the question of its authorship to the students of the history of Indian medicine.

The India Office MS of the *yogaratnākara* referred to by AUFRECHT is dated Śaka 1737 = A.D. *1815*. It was copied by one Siddheśvara Vaidya of Belapur. Out of the seven MSS of the work used by KUNTE for his edition of 1889 four are dated A.D. *1746*, *1779*, *1792* and *1849*. In view of the date A.D. *1746* of one of KUNTE'S MSS we must infer that the work was composed before A.D. 1746.[6]

The earlier terminus for the date of the work is definitely furnished by A.D. *1612* in which year the work *Nirṇayasindhu*[7] was composed by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa. As the *yogaratnākara* quotes the *Nirṇayasindhu* we can now fix the date of composition of the *yogaratnākara between* A.D. *1612 and 1746*. This period harmonizes with the reference to *Bhāvaprakāśa* (16th Century[8]) made by the author of the *YR* (= *yogaratnākara*.[9])

Let us now try to narrow down these limits as far as possible and for this purpose record some evidence from the *YR* itself.

The *YR* contains some verses on the properties of *tamākhū* or tobacco.[10] These verses presume the cultivation of the tobacco plant in India and the continuance of this practice for 30 or 40 years at the least. As *tobacco* was first seen at the Bijapur[11] court about A.D. 1604 or 1605 it appears that its

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6 Vide Dr. POLEMAN'S Catalogue of *Indic MSS in American Libraries*, 1938, p. 265—MS No. 5310 of योगरत्नाकर with Comm. dated *Saṁvat* 1863 = A.D. 1807. On pp. 383 and 382 Dr. POLEMAN refers to योगरत्नाकर (MSS in Siṁhalese Script). The above MS of 1810 A.D. is recorded under the heading "वीरेश्वरानन्द ?" As the work योगरत्नाकर is anonymous can we connect its authorship with any वीरेश्वरानन्द ?

7 Vide p. 574 of *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I, (1930).

8 HOERNLE : *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907, p. 18.

9 Vide pp. 439 and 441 of the Poona, 1900 Edn. of YR. ("इति सहाचरादितैलं भावप्रकाशात् etc.)

10 Page 17 of Poona Edn. of the YR—" अथ तमाखुगुणाः । धूमाख्योधूमवृक्षश्च बृहत्पत्रश्च धूसरः । तमाखुर्गुच्छफलको धूमयन्त्रप्रकाशकः ॥ १ ॥........वमनस्य प्रभावेण वृश्चिकादि विषं हरेत् । रेचनत्वाद्धरेद्वातं श्लेष्माणंच नियच्छति ॥ ७ ॥"
"These very verses have been found in a MS of *Vaidyāvataṁsa* of Lolimbarāja (No. 601 of 1899-1915) in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona on folio 6. This MS is dated Śaka 1724 = A.D. 1802 and the above passage is introduced with the remark "ग्रन्थान्तरात्संगृहीतं". Evidently it is an insertion made in the text by the copyist in A.D. 1802 as tobacco was unknown in India in Lolimbarāja's time.

11 Vide *Hobson-Jobson* by YULE and BURNELL, London, 1903, p. 925—Asad Beg took tobacco and pipes from Bijapur to Akbar's Court. "After that the merchants began to sell it, so the custom of smoking spread rapidly (*Asad Beg in Elliot*, vi, 165-167).

See also article on *Tobacco* in *Influence of Portuguese Vocable in Asiatic Languages* (G. O. Series, Baroda 1936) pp. 333—338. The name *tabaco* in Mexican according to Girolamo Benzoni (1550). Monards (1517) a Spanish physician pub-

cultivation in India is subsequent to this date and, therefore, we may safely add about 40 years to the above date to get one limit to the date of the *YR* which gives a description of the properties of the tobacco plant. This argument coupled with the reference made by the *YR* to the *Nirṇayasindhu* composed in A.D. 1612 would give us A.D. 1650 as the earlier limit to the date of the *YR*. This limit also harmonizes with the references in the *YR* to the works *Vaidyajīvana* and *Vaidyavilāsa*, which are presumably the works of the physician Lolimbarāja[12] of Junnar (Poona District) who flourished towards the end of the 16th Century.

In addition to the authorities quoted in the *YR* and noted in the India Office Catalogue I have noticed the following in the Poona Edition of the *YR* of 1900 :—

चरक (page:174, 311); सुश्रुत (339, 491) ; क्षीरपाणि (358); भोज (367); रसराजलक्ष्मी (125, 150); वृन्द (146, 176, 177); रसेन्द्रसंहिता (169); रससिन्धु[13] (170) काश्यपग्रन्थ (179); वीरसिंहावलोक[14] (196); राजमृगाङ्क (198); कमलाकर (239); कदम्ब (243); रसमञ्जरी (253); रससारसंग्रह (284); रससमुच्चय (293). .

It will be seen from the foregoing data that the *yogaratnākara* was composed between about A.D. 1650 and 1725. The chronology of Sanskrit writers on medicine with the exception of that of a few major writers has not been seriously studied by scholars. If an accurate chronology can be reconstructed for all such writers and their works, the history of our medical science would be put in its proper historical perspective but the spadework in this direction needs to be done with perseverance as almost all our ancient works on medicine are in an unpublished state in the MSS libraries of public bodies or private sources.

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lished an account of *tobacco*. In 1558 T. was first brought from America to Spain. T. was first introduced into England by Thomas Harriot in 1560. In the 16th Century the Portuguese introduced T. into Africa. No references to T are found in *Baber's Memoirs* (1519-1525) nor in Gārcia da Orta's *Coloquies* (1563), not even in Linschoten (1589). The Portuguese introduced T in India and China.

[12] Vide my article on *Lolimbarāja and his Works* contributed to *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 327 ff.

[13] Vide my article on the date and MS of this work in *K. B. Pathak Comm. Volume* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1934) pp. 468-472. According to my evidence this work was composed between A.D. 1375 and 1450 or so. There is one MS. of this work in the Govt. MSS Library (No. 634 of 1895-1902). Another copy of the work is found with Rajavaidya S. A. JAGATAP of Kolhapur. It is dated Śaka 1698 = A.D. 1776.

[14] Vide *CC I*, 595-596— Possibly this work वीरसिंहावलोक is a work on medicine by कलवी of Tomara race (A.D. 1375), Son of Devavarman (A.D. 1350) grandson मासिंसिरहह (A.D. 1325).

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A Plea for a Systematic Study of the History of Indian Materia Medica

BY

Sjt. P. K. Gode, M.A.

In his very suggestive and informative Chapter[1] on *Indian Materia Medica* H. H. Sir Bhagvatsinhjee, the Thakore Saheb of Gondal, correctly observes:- "The Materia Medica of the Hindoos is a marvel to the modern investigator. In it are fully described the properties of drugs belonging to the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, and of the articles of food essential to the maintenance of health and strength". Thakore Saheb then deals with the history of the development of Indian Materia Medica and shows how it began and developed gradually through the efforts of Indian physicians during a period of more than 3000 years. He refers in this connection to the Materia Medica as recorded by *Caraka*, *Suśruta*, *Agniveśa*, the author of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Madanapāla*, *Bhāvamiśra*, *Narahari*, *Soḍhala*, and others of recent times. The migration of some items of the Indian Materia Medica to Greece and Rome as also the introduction of several items of the Materia Medica of foreign countries into Indian Materia Medica consequent upon political and commercial contact of India with these countries during a period of about 2500 years has also been referred to by Thakore Saheb. The whole book of Thakore Saheb on *Aryan Medical Science* contains much matter to ponder over for those interested in Indian Medicine, which has not only a brilliant past but a creative future, given but a determination to ransack the past and chalk out a programme for the future in the light of modern scientific

1 Vide *Aryan Medical Sciences*, London, 1896, pp. 101-151

research. The sum-total of human knowledge in any branch of science is an accretion of ages, gathered through experience and experiment and unless we develop a spirit of reverence for the labours of past workers in the several fields of knowledge we can never be true seekers after truth in these fields, let alone the spiritual truth which covers up all empirical truth and which escapes from every conceivable apparatus set up in our laboratories by the utmost of human ingenuity and effort.

The history of any materia medica means the history of drugs belonging to the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. A comparative study of the history of different systems of materia medica of all nations of the world will give us a correct perspective of any individual system. Scholars in other countries have been trying to study the history of the different nations of the world, which have left their traces in some form of record or remains of archaeological value. In such a study the history of the plant-lore of the ancients has been taken note of even to the minutest detail in spite of the paucity of material but unfortunately the Indian Materia Medica has not received due attention for the reason that specialized studies bearing on the history of each drug in our Materia Medica have not been reconstructed by Indian scholars on the strength of Indian sources. It should, therefore, be our endeavour to devote our attention to the reconstruction of the history of each drug separately to enable the future historian of the Indian Materia Medica to build up a noble edifice of such a history, proving in detail what India has absorbed from neighbouring countries and what India has given to them for the benefit of suffering humanity. Judging by my own efforts towards the study of the history of Indian plants and allied products I can confidently assert that it is possible to build up a noble edifice of the history of our Materia Medica if we fully exploit the wealth of literary sources, either published or unpublished, that are now available in our libraries, private or public.

The history of Indian Materia Medica is only a branch of the history of Indian Culture, which has been receiving so much attention at present in our universities and learned bodies. The history of the material culture of different nations of antiquity is being studied with zest and attention. Even the published history of this material culture will give us ample material for comparison with our study of Indian material culture and thereby show us in a clear-cut manner the value and importance of our material culture of today and its ancestry of more than 4000 years. The history of concepts and ideologies, though very important to some of us, who value thought for its own sake, does not possess a universal appeal but the history of material culture, which includes in it the history of costume, food, architecture, painting, industrial products and other items having an objective appeal to the humanity in general, cannot fail to create a popular interest in our studies. Accordingly the history of drugs, which directly contribute to the prevention of disease or its cure, is bound to be useful not only to the students of medicine but even to the laymen as it has an educative value of its own. The history of a nation is not merely a history of wars and treaties but of the conflict of different ideologies and cultures and unless these ideologies and cultures are studied historically no true history of any nation can be written with precision and accuracy.

As we find migrations of different peoples from their original habitat, known to history, there have been similar migrations of drugs through different periods of history on account of cultural and commerical contact. Plants which we now regard as Indian and which grow in our gardens, have had a varied history of their migration from far-off countries. The cultural history of material objects enriches life. Trivial objects of daily use when associated with great men create in us a liking for them as they possess some memorable history. Plants and birds referred to in the poetry of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and others

attract our attention more than other plants and birds, howsoever, beautiful in their colour or plumage. The history of drugs mentioned by the earliest medical and non-medical texts commands our attention more quickly than many herbs growing in our forests and possessing perhaps more medical and economic value. It will thus be seen that the historical back-ground of every object has a distinct place in the cultural history of a nation. Much more important is the history of drugs, on which depends the "Science of life" or *Āyurveda.*

In studying the history of drugs it is necessary to study it strictly chronologically. It is only in this way that we can understand how it has indirectly contributed to the history of medicine. The Indian Materia Medica has increased by leaps and bounds since the time of the Vedas. It has assimilated many things in its onward march though the early history of this march is shrouded in mystery owing to want of specialised study of this history. Certain plants known to the ancient Assyrians or Egyptians have entered Indian Materia Medica before the Christian Era but we know nothing about the history of their migration to India more than 2000 years ago. Our knowledge even of the late-comers in this field such as chillies, guava, custard-apple, pine-apple, fig and the like is very vague and inaccurate. We are also ignorant when the rose came to India and we are also unable to give its history in India. Similarly the maize or *makā* has come to India from outside but no scholar or botanist can tell us when exactly it entered India. Grafted mangoes were produced in Goa in the last quarter of the 16th century and were sold at Delhi in the middle of the 17th century but when exactly mango-grafting commenced on British Indian soil is still a matter for speculation. There are many such problems connected with the history of drugs which await investigation by research scholars conversant with sanskrit and non-sanskrit sources.

The history of drugs will not only have an academical value for the historian and cultural value for the average citizen but a practical value as well. It will enable us to identify the several names of the drugs of antiquity with their present names. Such identification is absolutely essential for the manufacture of Āyurvedic products in our Rasashalas. Many a bald head feels satisfied at present with the application of Brāhmī oil sold in our shops, while the identification of the Brāhmī plant becomes a subject of debate among our medical practitioners. The *Soma* plant of Vedic fame still remains un-identified by Indologists and medical men. Though all plants cannot be identified easily, it would be easy to identify a majority of them when the history of each plant is studied and recorded separately. Some of the names of drugs have remained unchanged but many others have undergone transformation and at times wholesale substitution. Sometimes new plants like the custard-apple which have entered India very late in the sixteenth century have been given classical names. The names *Sitaphal* and *Ramphal* for the custard-apple are still supposed to be classical by many educated people. In fact one responsible Horticulturist to Government stated that these plants have a great antiquity as they have been honoured by Indians from very early times. If such is the ignorance of our Government Horticulturists who ought to possess a better knowledge of Indian plants, what can we say of the average educated man who receives no fat salaries for studying them !

As regards the sources for the history of Indian Materia Medica I have to observe that they are many and varied according to the contact of each drug with different cultures and civilizations of antiquity. Some knowledge of Indian drugs can be easily obtained by consulting all available Sanskrit lexicons, published or unpublished including the medical Nighaṇṭus or glossaries. It appears to have been the practice of old writers on technical subjects to provide in their treatises a chapter on the materials to be used. Medical Nighaṇṭus like the *Dhanvantari*

Nighaṇṭu are well known. In a treatise on Horses by Jayadatta I find a special chapter on Materia Medica (निघण्टु). Even in a treatise on cosmetics (गन्धशास्त्र) recently discoverd by me, its another Gaṅgādhara has provided a Nighaṇṭu of materials to be used for the manufacture of cosmetics. Non-medical Sanskrit and Prakrit literature, and Jain and Buddhist literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali, not to say in Chinese and other languages provide rich material for the reconstruction of the history of drugs and allied subjects. When all the Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist sources are exhausted we should ransack the vernacular literature of the different provinces of India. In studying the ancient Indian drug-lore we must hunt up the Assyrian, Egyptian, Babylonian sources of history, as also the Roman and Greek sources, both medical and non-medical. The Holy Bible contains a mine cf information for such a study. We should also consult the Avesta and Pehlvi sources, which have at times very important information about some drugs common to both the Iranian and Indian Materia Medica. Persian and Arabic sources both before the Muslim advent in India and after it contain very useful data about drugs on account of the mutual give-and-take that has influenced these sources for the last 1500 years. The central Asian sources as also the Chinese sources are most important for our study as they are likely to solve many a mystery in our study of the history of Indian Materia Medica. In conclusion I may state that no source having any information about drugs should be left untapped. Without a correlation of the ancient and modern drug-lore there can be no history of Indian Materia Medica worth the name. I would, therefore, exhort all my countrymen to put on record every bit of information about Indian drugs and their history from any source whatsoever, so that in course of time an Encyclopaedia of Indian drugs can be compiled and published by future generations of scholars. An open mind, an eagle-eye for facts and a strict sense of chronology will succeed in providing rich materials for such an Encyclopaedia.

MISCELLANEA

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

XLII

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE LOST MEDICAL TREATISE BY KHĀRAṆĀDI IN THE LIGHT OF THE LEAF OF THE KHĀRAṆĀDA-NYĀSA NEWLY DISCOVERED AT GILGIT

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MISCELLANEA

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

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XLII

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE LOST MEDICAL TREATISE BY KHĀRAṆĀDI IN THE LIGHT OF THE LEAF OF THE KHĀRAṆĀDA-NYĀSA NEWLY DISCOVERED AT GILGIT

In my recent article [1] on the "*Nature and Contents of a Lost Medical Treatise by Kharaṇāda or Khāraṇādi*" I tried to record some useful data [2] regarding this lost medical treatise from refernces to it by Aruṇadatta (about 1220 A. D.), by Hemādri (between A. D. 1270 and 1300), by Keśava (the father of Vopadeva) who was patronized by King Singhaṇa of Devagiri (A. D. 1210-1247) and by Vopadeva himself the protege and friend of Hemādri. It was also pointed out that Niścalakara in his commentary on Cakrapāṇidatta's *Dravya-guṇa-Saṁgraha* [3] refers to this

1 Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. IV pp. 49-62.

2 I have to add the following quotations from *Khāraṇādi* given by Śrī Kaṇṭhadatta in his commentary called *Vyākhyākusumāvali* or *Siddhayoga* (Anandashram Series, Poona, 1894) :—

Page 38— " तथा च खारणादिः —

पिप्पली पिप्पलीमूलचव्याचित्रकनागरम् ।

कोलमात्रोपयोगित्वात्पञ्चकालकसंज्ञितम् ॥ इति "

Page 112— " यदाह खारणादिः :—

रसशेषे हितः स्वप्नो घर्माम्बु लघु भोजनम् । इति "

Srīkaṇṭhadatta mentions अरुणदत्त, हेमाद्रि (pp. 111, 165, 17, 4). Dr. Hoernle (*Osteology*, p. 17) states that on the Pathology (निदान) of Mādhava there exists a commentary called मधुकोश which is a joint-work of विजयरक्षित (C. 1240 A. D.) and his pupil श्रीकण्ठदत्त.

There is a Ms of *Vyākhyākusumāvali* at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 375 of 1882-83). The ख Ms used for the Anandashram Edition of this work was dated Śaka 1558 = A. D. 1636.

3 Vide folio 11ᵇ of Ms. No. 620 of 1895-1902 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R Institute.

author as " *Khāranāda.*" There is possibility of Niścalakara being contemporaneous with Hemādri as suggested by me in my article on Khāraṇādi referred to above. At any rate he can be assigned to a period between A. D. 1250 and 1400. [1]

As regards the limit for the date of Khāraṇādi I suggested that he must be earlier than A. D. 1150. Since I sent the above paper to the press I received the issue of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, [2] Bangalore containing the " Report on the Gilgit Excavation in 1938 " by Pt. M. S. Kaul, M.A., M.O.L. of Srinagar (Kashmir). This report contains a leaf from the Ms of *Khāraṇādanyāsa* (Plate 1442 A and its Devanāgarī transliteration on pp. 9–10). Pt. Kaul states that this is a " commentary on a work of Kharanāda on Medicine giving portion of a chapter relating to pregnancy. Both the text and commentary are known at present in and through quotations only, though the former seems to have been as old as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of *Vāgbhaṭa*. The text is quoted by Aruṇadatta in his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* at page 249 and by Vācaspati [3] in his commentary on the *Mādhavanidāna* at page 50 "

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[1] Vide p. 61 of *Poona Orientalist* Vol. IV.

[2] Vol. XXX, No. 1 (July 1939) pp. 1–12. Pt. Kaul took his Excavation Party to Nawapura in Gilgit (228 miles from Srinagar) on 4th August 1938 ; some mounds excavated at this place brought to light *stūpas* of clay, birch-bark Mss., ivory rings, brass rings, one ear pendant, some pieces of gold, red and white pearl beads, birch-bark amulets, coral beads, a gold coin, iron and brass pieces, a gold-plated amulet with the image of the Lion-head on both sides.—The Mss excavated include (1) a work called *Saṅghātasūtra* in Buddhist Sanskrit (about 80 leaves), containing on the inside of the top cover paintings of Purīśa or Lord of Gilgit and his minister. There are two ladies seated in front of them (2) Mss. in fragments not yet deciphered and (3) Torn leaves from the Ms of *Khāraṇādanyāsa*, a leaf from a collection of fables, a leaf from the Buddhist Sanskrit Grammar and leaves of a prose composition in Sanskrit recording an incantation to protect the king of Gilgit (whose full name is " *Sāhānuṣāhi Navasurendra* Virkramāditya Nandideva) and his queen *Anaṅgadevī*. According to Pt. Kaul this Manuscript hoard is '*not later than the ninth century A. D.*", "*nor can it be earlier than the seventh century A. D.*". One of the Mss. records the year of copying in the " Newari Era which starts with 878 A. D. ".

[3] Vide p. 17 of *Osteology* by Dr. Hoernle, Oxford, 1907 Dr. Hoernle assigns Vācaspati to "*about 1260 A. D.*" Vācaspati states (v. 5 of Intro.) that his father Pramoda was chief physician of the court of Mahamada Hammira that is of Muhamad Ghori who reigned in Delhi from 1195 to 1205 A. D.

The reference to Kharanāda by Vācaspati (about 1260 A. D.) pointed out by Pt. Kaul is contemporaneous with that by Hemādri and does not help us in deciding the exact antiquity of this author. Pt. Kaul remarks that the text of Kharanāda is "as old as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa." As the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*" is assigned by scholars [1] to "*eighth or ninth century*" the limit for Kharanāda's date would not be earlier than say A. D. 700. Let us, however, see the effect of Pt. Kaul's discovery of the leaf of *Kharanādanyāsa* on the date of Kharanāda's text itself.

Pt. Kaul states that the Manuscript hoard found by him at Gilgit *cannot be later than 9th century* A. D. and at the same time *cannot be earlier than 7th century* A. D. If these chronological limits are based on correct data we can represent the relative chronology of the *text* and *commentary* on Kharanāda's work as follows :—

Text	As old as Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya (Pt. Kaul's view)	8th or 9th century A. D. i. e. between 700 and 900 A. D.
Ms of Nyāsa commentary	Not later than 9th century and not earlier than the 7th century	Between 600 and 9C0 A. D.
Date of composition of Nyāsa	Earlier than the above Ms	Earlier than or contemporaneous with the period A. D. 600 to 900

I am not aware of the evidence, which leads Pt. Kaul to think that Kharanāda's treatise "seems to have been as old as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*" but presuming that his statement is substantiated by reliable evidence it is likely to conflict with the date of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* given by Dr. Hoernle if we accept the date of Ms of the *Kharanāda Nyāsa* (represented only by one discovered leaf) as suggested by Pt. Kaul. [2]

1 Ibid. p. 16.

2 *Jour. Mythic Soc.* (July 1939) p. 8— Pt. Kaul's arguments regarding the age of the Mss. dicovered by him are :—

(1) The script of the Mss has a close affinity with the Śāradā script as used in the Avantivarman's inscription at the Mārtaṇḍa temple. Hence the Mss are *not later than the ninth century A. D.*

(*continued on next page*)

In the present stage of the data gathered so for I am inclined to fix A. D. 650 as the terminus before which Kharanāda may have composed his work and about 850 A. D. as the terminus before which the Nyāsa was composed.

As regards the exact name of Kharanāda we have already recorded the following forms :—

(1)	खरनाद	according	to	Aruṇadatta
(2)	खारना	,,	,,	Niścalakara
(3)	खरणादि	,,	,,	Aruṇadatta (in one place)
(4)		,,	,,	Hemādri
(5)	Do	,,	,,	Keśava
(7)	Do	,,	,,	Vopadeva
(7)	Do	,,	,,	Śrīkaṇṭhadatta

This testimony divided between the forms खरनाद and खरणादि has not much determinative force as almost all the above authors belong to the 13th century. The Gilgit fragment of खारणादन्यास furnishes a better and decisive testimony on this point as the text of this commentary uses the form खारणाद in the following 1st line of Plate 1442-A :—

" खारणादन्यासे खुण्डिकागर्भावक्रान्ति शारिरं समाप्तम् ॥"

The form खारणाद used by the commentator is more akin to खारनाद used by Niścalakara and supports the uniform use of the form खारणादि adopted by Keśava, Vopadeva and Hemādri.

It is a happy coincidence that by the time my article on Khāraṇādi is prepared and published in Poona, Pt. Kaul should bring forth a leaf of a commentary on Khāraṇādi's work buried for centuries several feet under ground at Gilgit. I look forward to the day when both the text of Khāraṇādi's treatise, which was extant, say between 600 and 1300 A. D. as also the newly discovered *Nyāsa* commentary represented by a single leaf would see the light of the day. For the convenience of scholars interested in this problem, I am reproducing in the appendix the contents of Plate No. 1442-A containing the portion of the *Khāraṇādanyāsa.*

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(2) The Mss are *not earlier than 7th century A. D.* during which *Strong than-blsam-Sgam-po* is said to have been converted through the influence of his two wives one Nepalese and the other Chinese to Buddhism and to have sent his minister Thonmi to India who after studying the current Indian alphabet prepared the Tibetan character on the model of the Śāradā alphabet and introduced the same in Tibet. etc.

APPENDIX

(Contents of torn birch-bark leaf of *Khāraṇādanyāsa* transliterated in Devanāgarī characters by Pt. M. S. Kaul).

1st Line ... ... न्वन्ति तन्निमित्त आत्मनो मुख्यजात्यादिलभ इति ॥ ॥ खारणादन्यासे खुण्डिकागर्भावक्रान्ति शारीरं समाप्तम्[1] ॥ खुण्डिकापहति गर्भावक्रान्त्योरेक एव सम्बन्धः द्वयो

2nd Line रपि गर्भाक्रान्त्याख्यस्यैकस्यैवार्थस्याभिधानात् ॥ उत वा पूर्वध्याये मात्रादिसंभवो गर्भ इत्येतावदुक्तं न तु युक्तिर्दर्शिता कया युक्त्येत्यत इह सा युक्तिरुच्यते ... . नां हि समुदययुगपद्गर्भसंभवः

3rd Line तस्य युक्तिं प्रवक्ष्यामि प्राक् च तां भाषितामपीति ॥ तस्य गर्भे अनुप्रवेशो गर्भावक्रान्तिः महत्त्वं चास्य गर्भावक्रान्त्यस्य विस्तरनिर्देशात् त्र्यहं रजस्वला भूत्वा पुराणरुधिरे स्रुत इत्यादि अनिस्रुते हि पराणे रुधिरे न[2] भवाति ग

4th Line र्भापत्तिः स्रुतेपि चाशुद्धस्नाता स्त्रीपुंसा युक्ता भूता प्रसववद्गर्भं न विन्दाति विकृतं वा जनयत्यत उभयमुक्तम् मनस्विनी सौमनस्याद्गर्भमादत्ते स्त्रीग्रहणं वन्ध्या निषेधकं एकान्तरानिर्देशः शुक्रस्य

5th Line ...... यार्थ आप्यायितं हि शुक्रं गर्भाय भवति निरन्तरगमणेन तु अल्पशुक्रत्वान्नोत्पद्यते गर्भो विकृतो वा जायते ॥ नवाहं गर्भभागिनी यस्मान्नवाहानि ऋतुः तस्मान्नेषु गर्भं भजते तत्रायुग्मे

6th Line ष्वहस्सु स्त्री युग्मेषु तु पुमान् भवेत् युग्मायुग्मत्वं चतुर्थदिवसात् प्रभृति चतुर्थषष्टाष्टमा युग्मा दिवसाः पञ्चमसप्तमनवमा अयुग्माः इदानीं यया युक्त्या पुंसा युक्ता स्त्री गर्भं विन्दाति सा यु

7th Line क्तिरभिधीयते शुद्धे स्थिते बीजभूते रक्त इत्यादि स्त्रिया रक्ते शुद्धे अदोषदुष्टे बीजभूते बीजावस्थे गर्भजनन .... समये गर्भाशये योनावाशये वा दुष्टे । आशये गर्भस्थानम् तस्मिन्नित्थंभूते रक्ते

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1 The *Carakasaṁhitā* (*Śārīrasthāna*) has two chapters on गर्भावक्रान्ति viz. Chap. III (खुड्डिका ग०) and Chap. IV. (महती ग०) (vide N. S. Press Edn. Bombay. 1922 pp. 305 and 313) Cakrapāṇidatta explains the term 'खुड्डिका' as 'अल्पा' in contrast with महतीं (p. 305).

2 Cf. *Carakasaṁhitā* (p, 313) —" गते पुराणे रजसि नवे चावस्थिते शुद्धस्नातां स्त्रियमव्यापन्नयोनिशोणितगर्भाशयामृतुमतीमाचक्ष्महे "

8th Line योन्याशये च यदा स्रीयोगात् पुंसा हर्षच्युतं हर्षेणोदीरितं शुक्रमदुष्ट शुद्धं युज्यते संसृज्यते हर्षः प्रतीति वि...च्छुक्रशोनितसंयोगे बद्धं संयुज्यते[1] ... ...

9th Line योग्यानुरूपया कृत्योपेतैः समान्वितं युक्तम् सुकर्मफलेन ... ... तम् ॥ तद्रक्तं मातुः सम्बन्धात् च पितुः मम्बन्धात् च शुक्रं सत्त्वं चात्मा चेतना धातुः

N. B.— Chapter II of the *Śārīrasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I is devoted to गर्भावक्रान्ति and it begins :—

"अथातो गर्भावक्रान्तिं शारीरं व्याख्यास्यामः । इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ".

Chap. I of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II begins in an identical manner. [Vide pp. 12 and 98 of the Poona Edn. of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* edited by Pt. R. D. Kinjavadekar (1938) with Indu's Comm. *Śaśilekhā*]. Regarding "*Pregnancy*" vide pp. 47, 48, 96 and 152 of *History of Aryan Medical Science* by Thakore Saheb of Gondal, London, 1896.

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1 Cf. *Carakasaṁhitā* (p. 313)— " तया सह तथा भूतया यदा पुमानव्यापन्नबीजो मिश्रीभावं गच्छति, तदा तस्य हर्षादुदीरितः परः शरीरधात्वात्मा शुक्रभूतोऽङ्गादङ्गात् सम्भवति, etc.

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SOME EVIDENCE FOR THE DATE OF THE AŚVACIKITSITA OF NAKULA (BEFORE A.D. 1000).

BY

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In the list of works and authors mentioned and quoted in the *Yuktikalpataru*[1] of King Bhoja as recorded by Pandit Isvara Chandra Sastri, I do not find the name of *Nakula*, who is quoted from in the अश्वयुक्ति section of the *Yuktikalpataru* as follows:—

Page 183—

" अथ वर्णः[2] ।

यदाह नकुलः—

सप्तवर्णा भवन्तीह सर्वेषां वाजिनां ध्रुवम् ।

तानहं कीर्त्तयिष्यामि भेदैर्ज्ञातानेनकधा ॥ ३८ ॥

सितो रक्तस्तथा पीतः सारङ्गः पिङ्ग एव च ।

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1 Ed. with a Foreword by Dr. N. N. Law, Calcutta, 1917—On the last page the following names of works and authors quoted in the *Yuktikalpataru* are recorded:—

बृहस्पतिनीतिः, उशनसी, गर्गः, भोजः, भविष्योत्तरम्, पराशरः, नीतिशास्त्रम्, मत्स्यपुराणम्, वात्स्यः, पराशरसंहिता, गरुडपुराणम्, विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम्, गारुडः, लौहार्णवः, लौहद्वीपः, लौहप्रदीपः, पद्मपुराणम्, वृद्धहारीतः, नागार्जुनः, गर्ग्यः, पालगाकाप्यः, शङ्खः ।

2. *Cf.* वर्णाध्याय (verses 1—30) in अश्वायुर्वेद of वाग्भट, son of विक्रम (B.O.R. Insti ι te, MS. No. 581 of 1899—1915) *folios* 15—16.

" अभिधास्यामि वर्णानामिदानीमत्र लक्षणम् ।

श्वेतः कृष्णोऽरुणः पीतः शुद्धाश्चत्वार एव हि ॥ १ ॥

पञ्चमोऽन्यस्तु वर्णस्यान्मिश्रश्चान्योन्यसंगतौ ।

ख्याता वर्णाः षडेवैते जाता भेदादनेकधा ॥ २ ॥ etc.

नीलः कृष्णोऽथ सर्वेषां श्वेतः श्रेष्ठतमो मतः ॥ ३९ ॥
श्वेतः कुन्देन्दुसङ्काशो रक्तः कौसुम्भसन्निभः ।
हरिद्रासदृशः पीतः सारङ्गः कर्बुरः स्मृतः ॥ ४० ॥
पिश(ष)ङ्गः कपिलाकारो नीलो दूर्वादलप्रभः ।
कृष्णो जम्बूफलाकारः शास्त्रज्ञैः समुदाहृतः ॥ ४१ ॥

इति अश्ववर्णाः ।"

The above quotation raises the question of Bhoja's indebtedness to नकुल, whose अश्वचिकित्सित was published long ago in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1887). It will be clear from the following evidence that the अश्वयुक्ति of Bhoja's युक्तिकल्पतरु is indebted to the अश्वचिकित्सित of नकुलः—

(1) The quotation from नकुल introduced with the words "यदाह नकुलः' reproduced above is taken from Chapter 3 of नकुल–अश्वाचीकित्सित (pp. 7-8 of *Bib. Indica*, Edition, 1887) where it reads as follows:—

अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः । वर्णवर्णनम् ।
वर्णाः सप्त भवन्तीह सर्वेषां वाजिनां ध्रुवम् ।
तानहं कीर्त्तयिष्यामि भेदैर्जातानेनकधा ॥ १ ॥
सितो रक्तस्तथा पीतः सारङ्गः पिङ्ग एव च ।
नीलः कृष्णोऽथ सर्वेषां श्वेतः श्रेष्ठतमः स्मृतः ॥ २ ॥
श्वेतः प्रालेयसङ्काशो रक्तः कुङ्कुमसन्निभः ।
हरिद्रासदृशः पीतः सारङ्गः कर्बुरः स्मृतः ॥ ३ ॥
पिङ्गः कपिलकाकारो नीलो दूर्वाग्रसंनिभः ।
कृष्णो जम्बूफलाकारः शास्त्रज्ञैः समुदाहृतः ॥ ४ ॥

In spite of a few variants this passage is almost identical with the passage quoted by Bhoja with the words यदाह नकुलः"

(2) To corroborate the above identification I record below additional comparison of verses and groups of verses common to भोज and नकुलः—

Bhoja (=B) p. 181—

" सपक्षा वाजिनः पूर्व्वं संजाता व्योमचारिणः ।
गन्धर्वेभ्यो यथा कामं गच्छान्ति च समन्ततः ॥ २३ ॥

Cf. *Nakula* (=N) p. 2:

" सपक्षा वाजिनः सर्वे (पूर्वं) संजाता व्योमचारिणः ।
गन्धर्वेभ्यो यथा कामं गच्छन्ति च समन्ततः ॥ ५ ॥

B. 181—" उत्तमा मध्यमा नीचाः कनीयांसस्तथा परे ।
चतुर्धा वाजिनो भूमौ जायन्ते देशसंश्रयात् ॥ २५ ॥

B. 182—" ताजिताः खुरशालाश्च तुषाराश्चोत्तमा हयाः ।
गोजिकाणाश्च केकाणाः प्रौढाहाराश्च मध्यमाः । २६ ॥
ताड़जा उत्तमाशाश्च राजशूलाश्च मध्यमाः ।
गत्वराः साध्यवासाश्च (*v. l.* साध्ववासाश्च) सिन्धुदाराः कनीयसः ॥
अन्यदेशोद्भवा ये च ते वै नीचाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
वाजिनो जलजाः केचिद्वाह्निजातास्तथापरे ॥ २८ ॥
समीरप्रभवाश्चान्ये तुरगा मृगजाः परे ।
जलोद्भवा द्विजा ज्ञेयाः क्षत्रिया वह्निसंभवाः ॥ २९ ॥
प्रभञ्जनभवा वैश्या मृगजाः शूद्रजातयः ।
पुष्पगन्धिर्भवेद्विप्रः क्षत्रियोऽगुरुगन्धिकः ॥ ३० ॥
घृतगन्धो भवेद्वैश्यो मीनामोदी च शूद्रकः ।
विवेकी सघृणो विप्रस्तेजस्वी क्षत्रियो बली ॥ ३१ ॥
कोष्णभावो (भावे) भवेद्वैश्यः शूद्रो निःसत्वको भवेत् ।
विप्राद्याः वाहनाः सर्वे प्रिया भूमिपतेः सदा ।"

Cf. N, 4—" उत्तमा मध्यमा नीचा कनीयांसस्तथापरे ।
चतुर्धा वाजिनो भूमौ जायन्ते देशसंश्रयात् ॥ १ ॥
ताजिकाः खुरशाणाश्च उत्तराश्चोत्तमा हयाः ।
गोजिकाणाश्च केकाणा प्रौढाहाराश्च मध्यमाः ॥ २ ॥
भाण्डजाश्चोत्तमांसाश्च राजशूलाश्च मध्ययाः ।
गोह्वराः शावराश्चैव सिन्धुपाराः कनीयसः ॥ ३ ॥
अन्यदेशोद्भवा ये च नीचनीचाश्च ते स्मृताः ।
वाजिनो जलजाः केचिद्वह्निजातास्तथापरे ॥ ४ ॥
समीरप्रभवाश्चान्ये उलूकमृगजास्तथा ।
जलोद्भवा द्विजातीयाः (*v. l.* द्विजा ज्ञेयाः) क्षत्रिया वह्निसंभवाः ॥
समीरप्रभवा वैश्या एणोलूकाश्च शूद्रजाः ।
विवेकी सघृणो विप्रस्तेजस्वी क्षत्रियो बली ॥ ६ ॥

दुष्टभावस्तथा वैश्यः शूद्रो निःसत्वकातरः (कारकः ।)
ब्राह्मणः सामवाही च भेदवाही च क्षत्रियः ॥ ७ ॥
उपादानेन वैश्यः स्याच्छूद्रो दण्डेन ताडितः ।
पुष्पगन्धः सदा विप्रः क्षत्रियोऽगुरुगन्धकः ॥ ८ ॥
घृतगन्धः सदा वैश्यो मीनामोदी च शूद्रकः ।
विप्रार्हा वाजिनः सर्वे क्षत्रियो भूपतेः सदा ॥ ९ ॥

B. 186—" नासिकाग्रे ललाटाग्रे शङ्खे कण्ठे च मस्तके ।
आवर्त्तो जायते येषां ते धन्यास्तुरगोत्तमाः ॥ ६२ ॥
ललाटे यस्य चावर्त्तो द्वितीयस्तु ककुन्दरे ।
मस्तके च तृतीयस्तु स विज्ञेयो हयोत्तमः ॥ ६३ ॥

Cf. N, 10—" नासिकाग्रे ललाटाग्रे शङ्खे कण्ठे च मस्तके ।
आवर्त्तो जायते येषां ते धन्यास्तुरगोत्तमाः ॥ ४ ॥

....

ललाटे यस्य चावर्त्तो द्वितीयस्य स लिङ्गकः ।
मस्तके च तृतीयश्च पूर्णकुक्षिः स उत्तमः ॥ ६ ॥

B, 186—" द(ग)ण्डावर्त्तो भवेद्यस्य वाजिनो दक्षिणाश्रयः ।
स करोति महासौख्यं स्वामिनः शिरसंज्ञितः (सञ्ज्ञितः) ॥ ६४ ॥

Cf. N, 11—" गण्डावर्त्तो भवेद्यस्य वाजिनो दक्षिणाश्रयः ।
(*v. l.* कपोलाभ्यन्तरावर्त्तो विद्येते)
स करोति महासौख्यं स्वामिनः शिवसंज्ञिकः ॥ १५ ॥

B, 186—" कर्णमूले यदावर्त्तः स्तनमध्ये तथापरः ।
विजयाख्यावुभौ तौ तु युद्धकाले जयप्रदौ ॥ ६५ ॥

Cf N, 12—" कर्णमूले यदावर्त्तस्तन्मध्ये च तथापरः ।
विजयाख्यावुभौ ज्ञेयौ युद्धकाले जयप्रदौ ॥ १७ ॥

B, 186—" नासामध्ये यदावर्त्त एको वा यदि वा त्रयः ॥ ६६ ॥
चक्रवर्त्ती स विज्ञेयो वाजी भूपालभूषितः ।
कण्ठे यस्य महावर्त्तः प्रोक्तश्चिन्तामणिः शुभः ॥ ६७ ॥

Cf. N, 12—" नासामध्ये यदावर्त एको वा यदि वा त्रयः ।
चक्रवर्त्ती स विज्ञेयो वाजी भूपालपूजितः ॥ १८ ॥
कण्ठे यस्य महावर्त्त एकोऽश्वस्य (एकः स्पष्टः) प्रजायते ।
चिन्तामणिः स विज्ञेयश्चिन्तितार्थविवृद्धिदः ॥ १७ ॥

B, 186—" स्कन्धपार्श्वे यदावर्त्तः स भवेत्सुखकारकः ।"

Cf. N, 12—" स्कन्धे पार्श्वे यदावर्त्तः स भवेत् पद्मलक्षणः ।
करोति विधिवत्पद्मे स्वामिनः सततं सुखम् ॥ २० ॥

B, 184—" चतुर्भिर्वत्सरैर्दन्ताश्चत्वारः परिकीर्त्तिताः ।
पञ्चभिश्च षड्भिस्त्वेवं जायन्ते त्वथ कालिकाः ॥ ४४ ॥
षष्ठे संवत्सरे प्राप्ते कालिकान्या भवेत् तु हि ।
तथान्या सप्तमे वर्षे चतुर्थी (*vl.* चतुर्थे) कालिका भवेत् ॥ ४५ ॥
अष्टमे वत्सरे प्राप्ते जा॰न्ते सर्वकालिकाः ।
नवमे त्वथ ताः सर्वा आपीताः सम्भवन्ति च ॥ ४६ ॥
केचिदेकादशे वर्षे तावत्पीतत्वमागताः ।
ततः श्वेता प्रजायन्ते चतुर्दशसमावधि ॥ ४७ ॥
ततः काचप्रभा सम्यग् यावत्संवत्सरास्त्रयः ।
ततः सप्तदशादूर्ध्वं यावद्वर्षाणि विंशतिः ॥ ४८ ॥
माक्षिकाभां वदन्त्येषां (*v. l.* माक्षिभाभावदन्तेषां) यावद्वर्षत्रयं पुनः ।"

Cf. N, 14—" चतुर्भिर्वत्सरैर्दन्ताः कालिकान्ये भवन्ति च ।
तथान्यः सप्तमे वर्षे चतुर्थः कालिको भवेत् ॥ ४ ॥
अष्टमे वत्सरे प्राप्ते प्राप्ताः स्युः सार्वकालिकाः ।
नवमे त्वथवा रेखा पीतत्वं शंसयन्ति च ॥ ५ ॥
तथाप्येकादशे वर्षे तावत्पीतत्वमागताः ।
तिष्ठन्ति दशनास्तेषां वाजिनामप्यसंशयम् ॥ ६ ॥
ततः श्वेताः प्रदृश्यन्ते यावद्वर्षत्रयं पुनः ।
ततः काचप्रभा सम्यक् यावत्संवत्सरास्त्रयः ॥ ७ ॥
ततः सप्तदशादूर्ध्वं यावद्वर्षाणि विंशतिः ।
मक्षिकाभा रदास्तेषां यावद्वर्षत्रयं पुनः ॥ ८ ॥

B, 184—" कालिका हरिणी शुक्ला काचा मक्षिकया सह ।
शङ्खो मूषलकश्चैव दन्तानां चलतां (ता) तथा ॥"

Cf. N, 15—" कालिका हारिणी शुक्ला काचा वाप्यथ मक्षिकाः ॥ १ ॥
शङ्खो दूखलकश्चैव दन्तानां चलनं तथा ।"

B, 184—" यस्य दत्ता यवा भोज्ये शिशिरे समुपस्थिते ।
अकृत्वापि क्रियाः सर्वाः स हयः सुखमृच्छति ॥ ३७ ॥

Cf. N 40—" यस्य दत्ता यवा भोज्ये शिशिरे समुपस्थिते ।

अकृतापि (*v. l.* क्रिया अपि) कृता सर्वा पञ्चर्तुजनिता हये ॥ १८

B190—" चलकिशलयपादः कर्णमध्यैकदृष्टि-

र्न चलति कटिदेशः स्वासने संस्थितो यः ।

हयहृदयगतिज्ञः स्थानदण्डवतापः (=दण्डावपाती)

स खलु तुरगयाता पूज्यते पार्थिवेन्द्रैः ॥ २ ॥

मेरुः स्थिरो यस्य चलौ च पादौ

त्रिकोन्नतं संहतमासनञ्च ।

स वाजिवाहः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां

शेषा नरा भारकरा हयानाम् ॥ ३ ॥

Cf. N, 21—" चलकिसलयपादः कर्णमध्यैकदृष्टिः

न चलति कटिदेशे आसने संस्थितश्च ।

हयहृदयगतिज्ञः स्थानदण्डावपाती

स खलु तुरगयोक्ता मान्यते पार्थिवेन्द्रैः ॥

B, 185—" दीर्घाः शुष्का विशालास्या ये भवन्ति तुरङ्गमाः ।

ते शस्ताः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य यानवाहनकर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥

Cf. N, 16—" दीर्घसूक्ष्मावभासास्या ये भवन्ति तुरङ्गमाः ।

ते शस्ताः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य यानवाहनकर्मणि ॥ १ ॥

The foregoing comparison of extracts from the अश्वयुक्ति section of Bhoja's युक्तिकल्पतरु and from the अश्वचिकित्सित of Nakula clearly shows how Bhoja, who definitely mentions नकुल by name and quotes from his अश्वचिकित्सित has borrowed freely from Nakula's work. If the अश्वयुक्ति section in the युक्तिकल्पतरु is a genuine work of king Bhoja we have to conclude that the अश्वचिकित्सित of नकुल is earlier than Bhoja (*C.A.D.* 1050.) We are thus in a position to determine *the later limit for Nakula's work viz. C.A.D.* 1000.

As regards the earlier limit to Nakula's अश्वचिकित्सित I have to make the following observations:—

(1) The passage mentioning the *Arabian* (ताजिक) and *Khurasan* (खुरशाण) horses as the best horses is common to both Bhoja and Nakula as we have seen above. The expression "ताजिताः खरशालाः" in Bhoja's अश्वयुक्ति is a misreadinng for "ताजिकाः खुरशाणाः' used by Nakula.

(2) *Khurason*[1] is a Province of North East Persia, bounded on the North by the U.Ś.S.R., on the West by Mazandaran and Iraq Ajemi, on the South by Kuhistān, and on the East by Afghanistan. It consists partly of desert and partly of high-lying land portions of which are fertile. Evidently the खुरशाण horses are equivalent to पारसीक horses, mentioned by जयदत्त in his अश्ववैद्यक, by the अमरलाश, by हेमचन्द्र in his अभिधानचिन्तामणि (C.A.D. 1140), by सामेश्वर in his मानसोल्लास (*C.A.D.* 1130) and even by बाण in his हर्षचरित (C.A. 130.)[2]

(3) I have presumed that the ताजिक horses mentioned by नकुल and भोज are equivalent to Arabian horses on the assurance of some friends. The Marathi Dictionary called the *Śabdakośa* mentions ताजी = Arabi horse (Arabic—ताझी)- Whether the term ताजिक is identical with ताजी cannot de said with certainty as in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (p. 156 of Gladwin's Zeans 1897) seven kinds of horses are mentioned, in which the *Arab* horse is distinguished from the *Tazee*, which is given as the name of the best horse "mostly bred in Hindustan." To make confusion worse confounded we have *Tajik* as the name of a republic of Russia formed in 1924 out of the former regions of *Buakhara* and *Turkistan* and further सोमेश्वर in his मानसोल्लास (A.D. 1130) mentions तेजी horses among the best breeds of horses, It remains to be seen whether the terms ताजिक, तेजी, *Tazee*, *Tajik* are identical or otherwise. I intend to examine these terms in a separate paper with a view to clarifying the above confusion

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1 Vide p. 615 of *World Pictorial Gazetteer* by J. A. Hammerton.

2 I propose to write a paper on *Persian Horses in Sanskrit literature* in which I shall record detailed evidence about Persian horses mentioned in Sanskrit texts and its bearing on the history of the import of Persian and Arabian horses in large numbers referred to in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (*Thana*) 1882 as follows:—(Page 431)—(810--1260 A.D.) *Trade Centres*—"The chief trade in Animals was towards the close of the period (1290), a great import of horses from the Persian Gulf and from Arabia. No ships came to Thana without horses......This great demand for horses seems to have risen from the scare among the Hindu rulers of the Deccan caused by the Mussalman cavalry. As many as 10,000 horses a year are said to have been imported." (Yule's *Morco Polo*, II, 330.)

and hence cannot deal with them in this paper without detailed evidence.

For the present we may conclude that Nakula's *Aśvacikitsita* is earlier than *C.A.D.* 1000 as king Bhoja has borrowed from it largely in the *Aśvayukti* section ot his *Yuktikalpataru*, mentioning in one place the name of *Nakula* along with the extract borrowed.

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

O. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

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Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.—......This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly articles: a very pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle." 12th December, 1926.—................ The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review." November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research..................The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning........

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"Hindu," 9th Feburary, 1927.—...........The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.—................The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work....

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.—......It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.—..........I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the orginality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions.....

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE, MADRAS.

All Communications should be addressed to the Correspondent, Journal of Oriental Research, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras.

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SOME DISTINCTIVE NAMES OF HORSES RECORDED BY HEMACANDRA IN HIS ABHIDHĀNA-CINTĀMAṆI, BY SOMEŚVARA IN HIS MĀNASOLLĀSA AND BY JAYADATTA IN HIS AŚVAVAIDYAKA —BETWEEN A.D. 1000 AND 1200

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A

Hemacandra (A.D. 1088—1172) records in his lexicon, *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi* the following names of horses according to their *colours* (varṇa) :—

No.	Name	Colour	Hemacandra's explanation J = जयदत्त; S = सोमेश्वर
1	कर्कः	सित	करोति प्रमोदं कर्कः "कृगो वा" (उणा-२३) इति कः (*Amarakośa* mentions कर्क as the name of white horse सितः कर्कः)
2	कोकाहः (J—1)	Do	कोकवत् आहन्ति भुवं कोकाहः
3	खोङ्गाहः (J—2)	श्वेतपिङ्गल	खमुद्गाहते खोङ्गाहः, पृषोदरादित्वात्, श्वेतश्चासौ पिङ्गलश्च श्वेतपिङ्गलः
4	सेराहः (J—6) (S—5)	पीयूषवर्ण	पीयूषं अमृतं दुग्धं वा तद्वद्वर्णोऽस्य पीयूषवर्णः तत्र सीरवदाहन्ति भुवं सेराहः
5	हरियः (J—3)	पीत	हरिं वर्णं याति हरियः
6	खुङ्गाहः (J—2)	कृष्णवर्ण	खुरैर्गाहते खुङ्गाहः
7	क्रियाहः	लोहित	क्रियां न जहाति
8	आनीलः (J—8) (S—7)	नीलक	नील एव नीलकः
9	त्रियूहः (J—9)	कपिल	त्रीन् यूथति त्रियूहः
10	वोल्लाहः (J—21)	कपिल and डुकेशरवालधि	अयं त्रियूहः एव व्योम्नि उल्लङ्घते वोल्लाहः

11	उराहः (J—14) (S—13)	मनाक् पांडु and कृष्णजङ्घ	उरसा आहन्ति उराहः
12	सूरूहकः Cf सरुराहक (J—21)	गर्दभाभ	सुखेन रोहति सुरूहकः
13	वोरुखान (J—15)	पाटल	वैरिणः खनति वोरुखानः
14	कुलाहः (J—13)	मनाक् पीतः कृष्णः स्यात् यदि जानुनि	कुलम् आजिहीते कुलाहः
15	उकनाहः (J—16)	पीतरक्तच्छायः and कृष्णरक्तच्छायः	उच्चैर्नह्यते उकनाहः । सएव उकनाहः कृष्णरक्तच्छायः सन् क्वचि-दुच्यते
16	शोणः	कोकनदच्छविः	शोणः शोणवर्णः
17	हरिकः (J—3)	पीतहरितच्छायः	हरिरेव हरिकः
18	हालकः	Do	हलति दमां हालकः
19	पंगुलः Cf पिङ्गल (S—20)	सितकाचाभः	पङ्गून् लाति पङ्गुल
20	हलाहः (J—11) (S—18)	चित्रितः	चित्रितो कर्बूरवर्णो हलवदाहन्ति हलाहः

Hemacandra concludes the above list of different horses (*Bhumikāṇḍa*, verses 303—309) with the remark "खोङ्गाहादयः शब्दा देशीप्रायाः । व्युत्पत्तिस्त्वेषां वर्णानुपूर्वी निश्चयार्थम्" (These names खोङ्गाह and others are for the most part देशी. Their derivation is based on the different colours of horses for distinctive purposes). The statement of Hemacandra that these names for differently coloured horses are "देशीप्रायाः" shows that he was not sure that they were definitely देशी words in all cases. It is, however, clear that these names were current in Hemacandra's time, i.e., in the 11th century. Let us now see if these names, or at least some of them are traceable in other Sanskrit texts, not much removed in point of chronology from Hemacandra's time. In fact in the *Section on the game*

of Polo called the वाजिवाह्यालीविनोद in the encyclopaedic work मानसोल्लास [1](or अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि) composed about *A.D. 1130* (*i.e.*, when Hemacandra was about 42 years old) by King Someśvara of the Cālukya dynasty we find some of these names recorded. In this section the king is advised to examine the different kinds of horses of different breeds and colours brought before him by the officer in charge of the horses. The king was to understand their kinds by the countries they came from. The names of different countries from which the horses took their origin are mentioned by Someśvara. He also mentions the distinctive marks on the body of a horse and classifies the horses according to *colours* and *castes*, which are four in number. He mentions further the peculiarities of different kinds of horses including those in respect of the formation of their bodies. Here he describes the पञ्चकल्याण and अष्टमङ्गल horses. The speeds of horses are then classified as, *high*, *middling* and *low*. Signs of bad horses are also recorded. The methods of punishing and breaking raw horses to make them fit for training are enumerated. When the training is complete these horses were to be used by the king. The best horse was to be fitted with the best saddle, ornaments, etc. and used by the king.

Before recording the names of horses according to *colour* (वर्ण) Someśvara observes :—

"श्वेत: कृष्णोऽरुण: पीत: शुद्धाश्चत्वार एव हि ।
मिश्रास्त्वनेकधा वर्णास्तेषां भेद: प्रवक्ष्यते ॥८२॥"

(*White*, *black*, *red* and *yellow* are four pure colours. Mixtures of these are numerous and they will be stated and their distinctions pointed out).

The following table will show at a glance the names recorded by Someśvara for horses of different *colours* and *castes* :—

[1] Ed. in *G. O. Series*, Baroda, Vol. II (1939), pp. 211 ff. See also Intro., p. 34.

No. क्रम	Name नाम	Colour वर्ण	Caste जाति	Description विवरण
१	कक (र्क) (हे–१)	श्वेत	विप्र	केशा वालाश्च रोमाणि वर्म चैव खुरास्तथा । श्वैतैरेतैर्भवेदश्वः कका (र्का) ह्वो विप्रजातिजः ॥८३॥
२	कत्तल	शुक्ल or श्वेत	...	पूर्ववत्सर्वशुक्लाङ्ग स्त्वचा कृष्णो भवेद्यदि । वर्णनाम्ना स विज्ञेयः कत्तलोऽयं तुरङ्गमः ॥८४॥
३	काल	कृष्ण	शूद्र	लोमभिः केशवालैश्च त्वचा कृष्णः खुरैरपि । काल इत्युच्यते वाजी शूद्रः शौर्याधिकस्तथा ॥८५॥
४	कपाह (v. l. कवाह) (हे–७)	रोहित	क्षत्र-जाति	केशप्रभृति वालान्तः सर्वाङ्गे रोहितो यदि । कपाह् इति विख्यातः क्षत्रजाति तुरङ्गमः ॥८६॥
५	सेराह (हे–४)	काञ्चनाभ	वैश्य	केशैस्तनुरुहैर्वालैः काञ्चनाभैस्तुरङ्गमः । सेराह् इति विख्यातः वैश्यजातिसमुद्भवः ॥८७॥
६	चोर	सित + लोहित	...	सितलोहितरोमाणि सर्वाङ्गे मिश्रितानि च । मुखांघ्रिवालकेशेषु लोहितश्चोर उच्यते ॥८८॥
७	नील (हे–८)	सित + कृष्ण	...	केशवालांघ्रितुण्डे च मेचको रुरुसन्निभः । नील इत्युच्यते वाजी सितकृष्णे तनूरुहे ॥८९॥
८	कया (पा) ह	कृष्ण etc.	...	पाटली पुष्पसंका (शो) शानलकेषु सितेतरः । कृष्णग्रन्थिकया (पा) होश्वः संग्रामे विजयप्रदः ॥९०॥
९	मोह	मधूक वल्कल वर्ण	...	मधूकवल्कलच्छायो मोह् इत्युच्यते हयः ।
१०	जम्ब	पक्क जम्बू-फल वर्ण	...	पक्वजम्बूफलच्छायो जम्ब इत्यभिधीयते ॥९१॥
११	हरित (हे–५) (हे–१७)	पीत + लोहित	..	केशवालेषु पीतश्च लोहितो हरितो मतः ।
१२	सत (ति) रुन्दीर	उन्दुर वर्ण	...	उन्दुरेण समच्छायः सप्त (प्ति) रुन्दीर उच्यते ॥९२॥
१३	उराह (हे–११)	मेचक + पीत + लोहित	...	केशकेसरपुच्छे च जानुनोऽधश्च मेचकः । सर्वाङ्गलोहितैः पीतैरुराहः कथ्यते हयः ॥९३॥
१४	गण्ठि (मण्ठ) वर्ण	शोण etc.	...	शेष (शोण) स्तेष्वेव देशेषु सर्वाङ्गे किञ्चिदुज्वलः । रक्तरेखाङ्कितः पृष्ठे गण्ठि (मण्ठ) वर्णस्तुरङ्गमः ॥९४॥
१५	पञ्च-कल्याण	पाण्डुर	...	येनकेनापि वर्णेन मुखे पुच्छे च (पादेषु) पाण्डुरः । पञ्चकल्याण नामायं भाषितः सोमभूभुजा ॥९५॥
१६	अष्टमण्ठा-(ङ्ग) ल	पाण्डुर	...	केशेषु वदने पुच्छे वंशे पादे च पाण्डुरः । अष्टममण्ठा (ङ्ग) लनामा च सर्ववर्णेषु शस्यते । ९६॥
१७	धौतपाद	श्वेत etc.	...	श्वेतः सर्वेषु पादेषु पादयोर्वापि यो भवेत् । धौतपादः स विज्ञेयः प्रशस्तो मुखपुण्ड्रकः ॥९७॥
१८	हलाह (हे–२०)	श्वेत etc.	...	विशालैः पट्टकैः श्वेतैः स्थाने स्थाने विराजितः । येन केनापि वर्णेन हलाह् इति कथ्यते ॥९८॥
१९	तरङ्ग	चित्रित	...	चित्रितः पार्श्वदेशे च श्वेतबिन्दुकदम्बकैः । यो वा को वा भवेद्वर्णस्तरङ्गः कथ्यते हयः ॥९९॥

२०	पिंगल (cf हे–१६)	सित + कृ० इ०	...	सितस्य विन्दुनः कृष्णाः स्थूलाः सूक्ष्माः समन्ततः । दृश्यन्ते वाजिनो यस्य पिङ्गलः स निगद्यते ॥१००॥
२१	बहुल or मलिन	श्वेत + श्यामल	...	श्वेतस्य सर्वगात्रेषु श्यामला मण्डला यदि । एके तं बहुलं प्राहुरपरे मलिनं बुधाः ॥१०१॥

On a comparison of the above list of *Someśvara* with that of *Hemacandra* we find that the following names of horses are common to both the lists :—

(1) कर्क, (2) सेराह, (3) नील or नीलक, (4) उराह, (5) हलाह and possibly (6) पिङ्गल or पंगुल

This is not a mere coincidence. Though Someśvara was ruling in the Deccan and Hemacandra was living in Gujarat, there was constant mutual contact of both these provinces. Hemacandra's patron king Kumārapāla twice invaded Konkon and king Mallikārjuna of the Śilāhāra dynasty was killed in one of these invasions.[2] It is just possible to suppose that some of the horse-lore of the Deccan must have migrated to Gujarat and vice versa as it was of great value to kings engaged in constant warfare.

Some of the names of horses recorded by Someśvara and Hemacandra in the 11th century are also found in a special treatise on horses called the *Aśvavaidyaka*[3] of Mahāsāmanta Jayadatta, son of Vijayadatta. In the list of drugs at the end of the edition, which the editor states, have been mentioned by Jayadatta, I find अहिफेन or opium (on p. 3). If this statement is correct I have to observe that this treatise was composed after the Muslim advent in India as *opium* is not known to Indian litera-

[2] Vide मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937, p. 240—See verses 41—70 of प्राकृत द्वयाश्रयकाव्य (Canto VI) which describe Kumārapāla's march to Konkan.

[3] Ed. by Umeśa Candra Gupta, *Bib. Indica*, Calcutta. 1886. —Verses 98—110 of *Chapter 3* deal with kinds of horses according to colour (or वर्ण) pages 38—43.

ture prior to the Muslim advent[4] in the 8th century A.D. Perhaps this treatise was composed between *c*. A.D. 800 and 1200 A.D. The treatise on horses called the अश्वचिकित्सित by नकुल edited in 1887 by the editor of Jayadatta's work in the *Bibliotheca Indica* does not contain the names of horses recorded by Hemacandra, Someśvara and Jayadatta. *Chapter 3* of Nakula's work contains, however, a description of horses according to colours (वर्ण) with different names but these names are Sanskrit and not "देशीप्रायाः" as those mentioned by Hemacandra. I record in detail in the following table the special names of horses according to their colours mentioned by Jayadatta in his अश्ववैद्यक :—

क्रम	नाम	वर्ण	विवरण
१	कोकाहः (हे–२)	श्वेत	श्वेतः कोकाहः इत्युक्तः
२	खुङ्गाहः (v. l.–पिङ्गाह) (हे–३)	कृष्ण	कृष्णः खुङ्गाह उच्यते
३	हरितः (हे–५ और १७)	पीतक	पीतको हरितः प्रोक्त.
४	कषायः	रक्तक	कषायो रक्तकः स्मृतः
५	कयाहः (सो–८)	पक्वताल-निभ	पक्वतालनिभो वाजी कयाहः परिकीर्त्तितः
६	सेराहः (हे–४) (सो–५)	पीयूषवर्ण	पीयूषवर्णः सेराहः
७	सुरूहकः (ह–१२)	गर्द्दभाभ	गर्द्दभाभः सुरूहकः
८	नीलः (हे–८) (सो–७)	नीलक	नीलो नीलक एवाश्वः

[4] The geographer *Al-Idrisi* visited Anahillapura, the capital of Jaya Simha Siddharaja (A.D. 1093—1143) the patron of हेमचन्द्र He states:—"The city is frequented by a great number of *Musalman* merchants who resort to it in business. They are well received by the King." (Vide p. cxciv of Intro. to काव्यानुशासन by R. C. Parikh, Bombay, 1938).

९	त्रियूहः (हे–६)	कपिल	त्रियूहः कपिलः स्मृतः
१०	खिलाहः (v. l.– शिलह)	कपिल	खिलाहः कपिलो वाजी पाण्डुकेशरवालधिः
११	हलाहः (हे–२०) (सो–१८)	चित्रल	हलाहः चित्रलश्चैव
१२	खङ्गाहः (v. l.– श्वङ्गाह)	श्वेतपीतक	खङ्गाहः श्वेतपीतकः
१३	कुलाहः (हे–१४)	ईषत्पीत	ईषत्पीतः कुलाहस्तुयोभवेत्कृष्णजानुकः
१४	उराहः (v. l.– उदहः) (हे–११) (सो–१३)	कृष्ण + पाण्डु इत्यादि	कृष्णा चास्ये भवेल्लेखा पृष्ठवंशानुगामिनी । उराहः कृष्णजानुस्तु मनाक्पाण्डुस्तु यो भवेत् १०४
१५	वेरुहानः (v. l.– वीरुहणः) (हे–१३)	पाटल	वेरुहानः स्मृतो वाजी पाटलो यः प्रकीर्त्तितः । रक्तपीतकषायोत्थवर्णजो यस्य दृश्यते ॥१०५॥
१६	उकनाहः (v. l.– दुकूलाहः (हे–१५)	देहज वर्ण with with	उकनाहः स विख्यातो वर्णो वाहस्य देहजः ।
१७	कोकुराहः	मुखपुंड्रक	कोकाहः पुण्ड्रकेणाश्वः कोकुराहः प्रकीर्त्तितः
१८	खरराहः	...	खरराहश्च खङ्गाहो (पुण्ड्रकेण)
१९	हरिरोहकः	...	हरिको हरिरोहकः (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२०	सुराहः	...	कुलाहः......सुराहः (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२१	सुरुराहकः (cf सुरूहक हे—१२)	...	वोल्लाहः......सरुराहकः (पुण्ड्रकेण) (हे–१०)
२२	वोरुराहः	...	वीरुराहः......वोरुराहः (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२३	दुरूराहः	...	दुकुलाहः......दुरूराहः (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२४	त्रियुराहः	चित्रलाङ्ग	त्रियूहः त्रियुराहश्च चित्रलाङ्गश्च यो भवेत्

हे = हेमचन्द्र
सो = सोमेश्वर

I have tried to tabulate the horse-nomenclature in Jayadatta's अश्ववैद्यक as best as I could understand it. This nomenclature is different from that given in the treatise on horses by शालिहोत्र which is frequently referred to by Jayadatta. In Jayadatta's time the old terminology had fallen into disuse and consequently Jayadatta has recorded the nomenclature that was current in his time, as such a record had a practical utility. In fact Jayadatta expresses this object of his nomenclature in the following verses :—

"चक्रवाकादिभिर्वर्णैः शालिहोत्रादिभिः स्मृतैः ।
पाटलाद्यैश्च लोकस्य व्यवहारो न सांप्रतम् ॥९८॥
तस्मात्प्रसिद्धकान्वर्णान् वाजिनां देहसम्भवान् ।
समासेन यथायोग्यं कथयाम्यनुपूर्वशः ॥९९॥"

It will be seen from the three lists of the names of horses according to colours (वर्ण) tabulated by me in this paper that the lists of Jayadatta and Someśvara (A.D. 1130) are more exhaustive than that of Hemacandra. These three lists together containing many common names give us a vivid idea of the horse-lore current say in the 11th and 12th centuries. This horse-lore is definitely connected with the foreign horse trade with India that was going on in Indian ports after about 800 A.D. as I have shown elsewhere.[5] Hemacandra says that this nomenclature is "देशीप्राय". I have reason to believe that some of these names are either Persian or Arabic and they may have come to India along with Persian, Arabic, Turkish and other foreign breeds of horses that were imported to India as vouched in detail by Marco Polo's Travels (A.D. 1298). Marco Polo's account of the foreign import of horses is further supported by the following account of the horse-trade at a Malabar port called *Kāyal* about A.D. 1290 recorded by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar[6] :—

Kāyal was a well-sheltered port at the mouth of

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[5] Vide *Annals* (B.O.R. Institute, Poona), Vol. XXVI, pp. 103-105.

[6] Vide pp. 70-71 of *South India and the Muhammadan Invaders*, Oxford University Press, 1921.

Tamaraparaṇi in the Gulf of Manar in the South, not far from the far-famed *Korkai* (*Kolkhoi* of the classical geographers). There was a prominent trade settlement at *Kāyal—about A.D. 1290*, where an agency was established by an Arab Chieftain, Maliku-l-Islam Jamalu-d-din ruler of Kis, and later the farmer-general of Fars. According to *Wassaf*, about this time as many as *10,000 horses* were imported into Kāyal and other ports of India of which *1400* were to be of *Jamalu-d-din's own breed*. The average cost of each horse was 220 *dinars* of 'red gold'. The cost even of those that died on the way was paid by the *Pāṇḍya* King for whom they were imported. *Jamalu-d-din's* agent was a brother as it seems, *Takiud-d-din Abdur-Rahman*, son of *Muhammadu-t-Thaibi* described as *Marzaban* (Margrave). This agent had his headquarters at *Kāyal*, and had the other ports of *Fitan* and *Mali Fitan* also under his control. This description means that he was the agent-general for the import trade of the Arabs in this part of the country, as according to the same authority the trade of this region in those days was very great, both in volume and value. In the words of *Wassaf* "Ma'bar extends in length from Kulam to Nilawar (Nellore) nearly three hundred *parasangs* along the sea-coast, and in the language of the country the king is called *Dewar*, which signifies the lord of empire. The curiosities of *Chin* and *Machin*, and the products of *Hind* and *Sind*, laden on large ships (which they call junks) sailing like mountains with the wings of winds on the surface of the water, always arrived there. The wealth of the islands of the Persian Gulf in particular and in part the beauty and adornments of other countries, from '*Irak* and *Khurasan* as far as *Rum* and *Europe* are derived from *Ma'bar*, which is so situated as to be the Key of Hind" (Eliot, iii. 32).

The above graphic description of foreign trade of India in general about A.D. 1290 and the horse-trade in particular will explain the genesis of the horse-names

according to their colours recorded by Hemacandra, Someśvara and Jayadatta. We note with special interest that out of 10,000 horses imported into Kāyal, 1400 were to be of *Jamalu-d-din's own breed*. In this connection I have to point out that the horse-name "वोरुखान" mentioned by Hemacandra may have been derived from some breeder of horses of the name वोरुखान. If this surmise is found to be correct, Hemacandra's explanation of this name "वैरिणः खनति वोरुखानः" is pedantic and imaginary like his explanations of other horse-names recorded by him. Hemacandra mentions the वोरुखान horse as having पाटल colours. Jayadatta mentions "वेरुहान" or "वीरुहण" horse with पाटल colour. I think the terms "वोरुखान" and "वेरुहान" are identical. They may indicate some Arab breeder of horses of this name as I have observed above.

In the present paper I have succeeded to a certain extent in linking up the horse-nomenclature as found in three different Sanskrit sources which are more or less contemporary.[7] I have now to request all scholars interested in this nomenclature to throw more light on it from non-Sanskrit sources, which are likely to contain some special treatises on horses like *Xenophon's* Greek treatise and the Sanskrit treatises of *Śālihotra*, *Jayadatta*, *Nakula*.

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[7] Out of 20 names of horses in Hemacandra's list about 15 are found in Jayadatta's list. This agreement leads us to infer that Hemacandra and Jayadatta are not much removed from each other in their chronology, especially when we remember that Hemacandra has recorded these names as current in his time. Secondly Jayadatta expressly states that he has recorded the current names, as the old terminology given by शालिहोत्र and others had fallen into disuse.

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BHĀSKARA BHAṬṬA'S WORK ON ANATOMY CALLED THE ŚĀRĪRA-PADMINĪ AND ITS WRONG DATING BY DR. HOERNLE

By Prof. P. K. GODE

Hoernle in his *Osteology*[1] makes the following references to a medical author Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa and his work on Anatomy called *Śārīrapadminī* :—

Page 17—" 12. *Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa and Bhāva Miśra*—To a slightly earlier date than that of Cakrapāṇidatta belongs a medical author Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa. *He appears to have lived about 1000* A.C.[2] He wrote a tract on Anatomy called *Śārīra Padminī* (i.e. Lotus among works on Anatomy). The statements on the skeleton, contained in this treatise, reproduce the doctrine of *Suśruta* as modified by Vāgbhaṭa (See § 36).

Page 70—" 6. As to older medical works which explicitly adopt Suśruta's system of the skeleton we have the following two (§ 2):

(1) The *Śārīra Padminī* by Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa (*C. A. C. 1000*) a manuscript of which is in the possession of Dr. P. Cordier (*Récentes Decouvertes*, p. 30) dated *Saṁvat 1735* = A. C. 1678 and from which a copy of the statement on the skeleton was very kindly supplied to me by the owner.

(2) The *Bhāva Prakāśa* by Bhāva Miśra in the *Sixteenth Century*, edited by Jīvānanda and others.

Page 74—" The two medical works *Śārīra Padminī* and *Bhāva Prakāśa* which adopt the statement of Suśruta etc."

Page 90—" 1. It has been mentioned in § 26 that the Traditional Recension of the statement of Suśruta is found in the two medical works *Śārīra Padminī* and *Bhāva Prakāśa*.

2. In the *Śārīra Padminī* (verses 70 and 71) it runs as follows :—

" In the sequel .... five classes (Original Text in § 91)."

Page 221—" § 91. *The Systems of Suśruta in the Śārīra Padminī*.

1. The statement of the system of Śuśruta in the *Śārīra Padminī* and its *commentary* edited from a manuscript in the possession of Dr. P. Cordier runs as follows :—

"कीकसं त्रिगत.......उदर ओरसि पृष्ठे ॥ ७० ॥" "सप्त–युक्त–दश–शत......पुनरेनत् ॥ ७१ ॥"

For the translation see § 36.

2. The commentary of Vaidyanātha, called *Padminī Prabodha* on the above given statement runs as follows :— "शारीरे स्थानं...... etc."

Translation :—" Because of the conciseness of the statement of the bones etc."

From the foregoing references we get the following information :

(1) *Name of the work* :— शारीरपद्मिनी (2) *Author* :— भास्कर भट्ट.

(3) *Date of the MS of the work with Dr. P. Cordier* :—Saṁvat 1735 = A. C. 1678.

(4) *Name of the Commentary on the work* :— पद्मिनी प्रबोध by वैद्यनाथ.

(5) *Date of Composition of* शारीरपद्मिनी About 1000 A.C. according to Hoernle.

I am not aware of the grounds on which Hoernle assigns the शरीर पद्मिनी to "*about* (A.D. 1000)." It appears, however, that Hoernle had not personally examined the MS of the work in the possession of Dr. Cordier. The date "about A.D. 1000" for this work given by Hoernle is absolutely wrong and misleading as will be seen from the following evidence :—

(1) Aufrecht makes no mention of any work of the name शारीर पद्मिनी in this *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

(2) In 1944 Rajavaidya S. A. Jagatap of Kolhapur sent to me a MS of the शारीर-पद्मिनी by Bhāskara Āpāji Agnihotrī. I have sent for publication a paper on this work. It will appear in the *Nathuram Premī Commemoration Volume* under the title " Śārīrpadminī, an unknown Medical work of Bhāskar Āpāji Agnihotrī—A. D. 1679."

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[1] Oxford, 1907.

[2] See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. i, p. 340. The *Śārīra Padminī* was brought to notice by Dr. P. Cordier in his *Récentes Découvertes*, p. 30.

(3) The *Śarīra Padminī* of Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa referred to by Hoernle in his remarks quoted in extenso above is identical with the work represented by the Jagatap MS of the *Śārīrapadminī* of Bhāskara Āpāji Agnihotrī. Verses 70 (कोकसं etc.) and 71 (सप्त-युक्त दश -शतं etc.) quoted by Hoernle from the Cordier MS of the शारीरपद्मिनी are exactly identical with those numbered 70 and 71 in the Jagatap MS. The Jagatap MS contains 110 verses in all.

(4) The Jagatap MS of the *Śārīrapadminī* was copied in A.D. *1791* (Śaka 1713, *Viroddhakṛt Saṁvatsara Vaiśākha śuddha Pratipad.*)[1]

(5) The Jagatap MS of the शारीर पद्मिनी records in the following verse the date of composition of the work as follows:—

"शर वह्निहयेन्दु हायने विभवे भास्वत उत्तरायणे।
इयमत्र समापिता सिते ग्रहतिथ्यां शुभ माधवासिते ॥ ११० ॥"

The Chronogram "शर, वह्नि, हय, इन्दु" gives us *Saṁvat 1735* as the date of composition of the work. Dr. Hoernle states on p. 70 of *Osteology* that the Cordier MS of the शारीर पद्मिन' is also *dated 1735* (*Saṁvat*). I am of opinion that either Hoernle or Cordier has taken the date of composition of the work as the date of the copy.

(6) The genealogy of Bhāskara as given in the verses 96, 97, 98 of the शारीरपद्मिनी tallies with that recorded by him in his other works like the स्मृतिप्रकाश, पद्मामृततरङ्गिणी and others recorded by Aufrecht. His ancestor पुरुषोत्तम भट्ट of the अग्निहोत्रि family belonged to त्र्यंबकेश्वरपुर. His son was हरिभट्ट. His son was आपाजिभट्ट resident of काशीक्षेत्र or Benares. आपाजि is described as the "resort of men in pounding down diseases" ("गददलनविधौ मानवानां शरण्यः"). His son was भास्कर the author of the शारीर पद्मनी, which is evidently a tribute to his physician father. The colophon describes the अग्निहोत्रि family as "काश्यपान्वय" i.e. of the काश्यपगोत्र.

(7) Bhāskara's पद्मामृततरङ्गिणी was composed in A.D. 1676. The शारीर पद्मिनी was composed in A.D. 1679 as we have seen above. These dates harmonize with each other.

(8) The स्मृतिप्रकाश of Bhāskara is represented by MS *No. 161 of Viśrāma I* in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. On folios 186-187 of this MS Bhāskara mentions and quotes from his own शारीर पद्मिनी as follows:

"तत्र तावत्स्वप्नावस्थोक्ता मत्कृतशारीरपद्मिन्याम्।
संकोचं गतवति तत्र हृत्पयोजेति निद्रास्या द्विषयत इन्द्रियोपरामान्।
चित्रैकानुपरजितो भवेज्जनानाम् स्वप्नं तद्विकसति सत्वतोवबोध इति ॥"

The above stanza संकोचं......बोधः is identical with verse 30 of the Jagatap MS of the शारीर पद्मिनी The MS of the स्मृतिप्रकाश is dated Saṁvat 1808 = AD. 1752.

I have not traced any MS of the commentary *Padminī-prabodha* (on the *Śārīrapadminī*) by Vaidyanātha. Evidently this commentary is later than A.C. 1679. Bhāskara's *Smṛtiprakāśa* which mentions the शारीर पद्मि is also later than A.C. 1679. In my paper on Bhāskara in the *Nathuram Premi Volume* I have recorded the known chronology of the works of this author including the date of the *Śārīrapadminī* and I have to invite the attention of readers to this paper containing the evidence on which this chronology is based.

The evidence recorded above is sufficient to disprove the wrong date of Bhāskara viz. A.D. 1000 given by Hoernle. Bhāskara Āpāji Agnihotri was a Deccani Brahmin of the *Kāśyapa* gotra. He was a Deśastha Ṛgvedi Brahmin. We have in the Mahārāṣṭra some members of the Agnihotri family even today but I have no evidence to connect these members with Bhāskara's line, which migrated from Tryambakeśvara to Benares c. A.D. 1650 and settled there. We can have a clear idea of the contribution to Sanskrit learning by Mahārāṣṭra Pandits only when we have studied and published the history of each family through several generations with special reference to its literary contribution as revealed by published and unpublished sources.

IDENTIFICATION OF BAGĀJI VAIDYA AND JAYA ŚAMKARA MENTIONED BY JYOTIRVID RAṄGANĀTHA IN HIS TREATISE ON PILES (1765 A. D.)

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IDENTIFICATION OF BAGĀJI VAIDYA AND JAYA-ŚAṀKARA MENTIONED BY JYOTIRVID RAṄGANĀTHA IN HIS TREATISE ON PILES (1765 A.D.)

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In my note on the *Identification of Raṅganātha Jyotirvid*,[1] the author of a medical treatise on Piles composed by order of Peshawa Raghunathrao in A.D. 1765, I tried to prove from contemporary Maratha Records the identification of the author himself as also some other physicians mentioned by him viz. *Bābā Bhiṣagvarya*,[2] and *Balavantrāya Vaidya*. Two other physicians viz. (1) *Bagāji Vaidya* and (2) *Jaya S'aṁkara* remained then unidentified. I propose to record in this note some evidence from contemporary records which proves that Bagāji Vaidya was also a contemporary physician with whom our author had some contact and whose opinions he respected. This fact would be clear from the following extract from our author's treatise called the *Vicārasudhākara* (MS No. 307 of Vis'I) folio 14 :—

" इति शास्त्रानुभावस्वानुभूतिगुरूपदिष्टवाक्यानुसारतो जुन्नरपुरस्थित-
ज्योतिर्विद्रंगनाथ तथा बगाजीवैद्ययोः संमतमिदं समाप्तिमगमत् "

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1. Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II (1937–38), pp. 31–34.

2. Further information about this physician is found in *Rajwade's Sources of Marāthā History*, Khanda VI, p. 68.—It appears Bābā Vaidya built a house in Poona in *A.D. 1751* (Śaka 1673—" श्रा. शुद्ध ८ शुक्रवारीं बावा वैद्य यार्णी खंड्र तेलियाच्या जागियावरी नवें घर बांधलें. त्या घरास ग्रहप्रवेश केला असे "). This reference in *1751 A.D.* to Bābā Vaidya is the earliest traced by me. Other references are later. They may be briefly recounted here :—
   - (1) *About A.D. 1760—Bābā Vaidya's* endorsement on Sadashiv Rao Peshwa's letter to his wife on the eve of his departure for the battle of Paniput (1760).
   - (2) *A D. 1765*—Mention by Ranga Joshi in his treatise on Piles as authority.
   - (3) *1st November 1766*—Mention of *Bābā Vaidya's* intended visit to Miraj by Moro Ballal in his letter to Gopalrao Patwardhan.
   - (4) *8th March 1767*—The Peshwa asks Nana Fadnis to make inquiries regarding certain Medical preparations at *Bābā Vaidya's* house and then send them on to him.

It appears, therefore, that Bagāji Vaidya was also a resident of Junnar, in the Poona district, like our author Raṅganātha Jyotirvid or Raṅga Joshi of Junnar. We have now to prove the identity of this physician from contemporary records of the Peshwa period of the Marāthā history as Raghunatharao Peshwa was the patron of Raṅga Joshi of Junnar.

We have already proved that Raṅga Joshi was a friend of the Chandrachud family and in particular he was closely associated with the family of Gangadhar Yashavant Chandrachud popularly known as Gangoba Tatya who died in 1773 A.D. and who played an important role in some of the ambitious political campaigns[1] of the Peshwas during his life-time. Ranga Joshi appears to have acted almost as a family physician to the Chandrachud family.[2] Ranga Joshi was present at the death-bed of Subhedar Malharrao Holkar when he died at *Alampur* (prānta *Jhānsī*) on Tuesday, Vaiśākha Śuddha 11, Sâka 1688 = 13th May 1766.[3] This fact is mentioned in a letter dated *27th May 1766*[4] found in the *Chandrachud Daftar*.

Gangoba Tatya Chandrachud had two wives : viz. (1) Annapūrṇābāi and (2) Pārvatībāi, who died in the month of Āṣāḍha, Śaka 1685 (= A.D. 1763).[5] In a letter written by Annapurnabai to her son on *4th June 1763* she refers to the illness of Parvatibai and the fact of Parvatibai's being under the medical treatment of

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1. Vide preface to *Chandrachud-Daftar* published by the Bh. Iti. Mandal, Poona (Śaka 1842 = A D. 1920), pp. 1-16.

2. Ibid, p. 62—Vide letter No. 58 dated *6th December 1762* from the two sons of Gangoba Tatya viz. Sadashiva and Kṛṣṇarao to their mother. In this letter the writers refer to the medical treatment given by Ranga Joshi to Gangoba Tatya—"तीर्थरूपाचे शरीरभावनेचे......वर्तमान कळत गेले पाहिजे म्हणोन आज्ञा येसियासि आम्लपित्तास उपाये जोसी बाबा करीत आहेत." "आपल्या येण्याविसी जोसीबाबांनीं एक दोनदां पुसिले. etc. "Joshi Baba mentioned in this extract is none other than Ranga Joshi of Junnar, the author of *Vicārasudhākara* also called *Ārśoghnasudhākara*.

3. Vide *Indian Ephemeries*, Vol. VI, p. 334.

4. Vide *Chandrachud Daftar*, pp. 97-98, Letter No. 104—"येकांतीचे वर्तमान वे॥ राजश्री रंग जोसीबाबा यानी समक्ष पाहिले आहे ते तिकडे आले आहेत सवीस्तरे सांगतील."

5. Ibid, p. 65, footnote 1.

a physician by name "*Bagājibāvā Vaidya.*"[1] I have no doubt that "*Bagājibāvā Vaidya*" referred to in the above letter, dated *27th May 1766* is identical with "*Bagājī Vaidya*" mentioned by Ranga Joshi in his *Vicārasudhākara*, which was composed by the author about a year earlier i.e. in A.D. 1765.[2]

I shall record in this note some additional information about the family of Ranganatha Jyotirvid or Ranga Joshi of Junnar. This information is furnished by the papers of a dispute connected with the removal of Śivaliṅga from the temple of Siddheśvara at Shirgaun (paragaṇe Māhim, prānta Vasai). These papers were published as far back as 1884.[3] In these papers we find recorded in *A. D. 1808–1809* a deposition of Jagannatha Joshi, the son of Ranga Joshi Junnarkar.[4] From this deposition we know clearly the name of Ranga Joshi's father viz. "**सूर्य जोशी**", who is mentioned by Jagannatha Joshi as his grand-father. In the treatise *Vicārasudhākara* the author Ranga Joshi describes himself as follows :—

"प्रथितसूर्यविधिज्ञसुतः सुधीर्गणितवैद्यकशास्त्रविशारदः।
असुहृदुग्रगुदामयशातनं व्यरचयद्विविधार्त्तिहरं मुदा ॥ १ ॥[5]

In the above description Ranga Joshi calls himself "**सूर्य-विधिज्ञ-सुत**" i.e. son of **सूर्यविधिज्ञ** (=**सूर्यजोशी**) and proficient in the sciences of *gaṇita* (or astrology) and *Vaidyaka* (or medicine). In the deposition of Jagannatha Joshi we are informed that *Dada-*

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1. Ibid, p. 75, Letter No. 77—" चिरंजीव सौ पार्वतीच्या शरीरी ज्वर अद्यापी आहे सो बगाजीबावा वैद्य औषध देतात परंतु अद्यापी गुणास येत नाहीं आरोग्य होईल तो सुदीन असे."

2. Vide folio. 23 of Ms. No. 307 of Viś. I in the Govt. Mss Library, at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona—" शैलदंतिरसभूमिते शके। मार्गशुक्रविनायके तिथौ ॥ भूमिनंदनदिने व्यरीरचत्। सद्विचारणसुधासुधाकरं ॥ २ ॥" Vide also my note on the *Date of Vicārasudhākara* published in the Annals (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. XII, pp. 287-289.

3. Vide pp. 120–164 of the account of शुक्लयजुर्वेदीय ब्राह्मण by Narayan Vithal Vaidya Purandare Puntambekar, Bombay Saka 1806 = A.D. 1884 (शिरगांव येथील लिंगोत्पाटणाचा खटला).

4. Ibid, p. 152—" जगन्नाथ जोशी बिन् रङ्गजोशी जुन्नरकर वृत्यंशी हल्ली वस्ती पुणें यागीं लिहून दिलें कीं......आमचे घरीं पूर्वापार सूर्यजोशी आमचे आजे त्यांजपासी व आमचे तीर्थरूप कैलासवासी रङ्गजोशी यांजपासीं येत होतें......श्रीमंत दादासाहेब मुंबईस होते ते समयी आपणही कांहीं कार्यानिमित्त गेलो होतों...."

5. Vide folio. 23 of MS No. 307 of Viś. I (Govt. MSS Library).

saheb was at Bombay and that Jagannatha Joshi had gone there on some business. This Dadasaheb is none other than Raghoba-dada Peshwa at whose instance Ranga Joshi wrote his work *Vicārasudhākara*. Jagannatha Joshi was living at Poona in the year 1808–09 when he gave his deposition in the case under reference and when his father Ranga Joshi is referred to as a dead person ("आमचे तीर्थरूप कैलासवासी रङ्गजोशी"). Ranga Joshi must have died after A.D. 1780 as his signature is found on a deed dated *17th January 1780.*[1]

We have now to identify *Jaya S'aṁkara* who is referred to by Ranganatha Joshi in his treatise as follows :—

Folio 16a (of MS No. 307 of Vis'I)—

जयशंकरमतं ॥ तक्रपानं सदा कार्यं व्योपक्षारसमन्वितं ।
अथवा त्रिफलाचूर्णं चित्रकैरपि योजयेत् ॥
मंडूरतक्रपानेन तथा राजमृगांककः ।
अरुष्करादिचूर्णस्य सेवनात्सुरणस्यच ॥
अर्शांसि नाशमायांति तिमिरं भास्करोदयात् ।
इति जयशंकरमतं ॥

I shall now record some evidence about a physician of the name *Jaya Saṁkara* to whom the Peshwa restored some confiscated revenues between 1754–55 A.D. This evidence is furnished by the Diaries of Peshwa Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb, published by Messrs. Vad and Parasnis,[2] whose summary of extract No. 213 reads as follows :—

"*213.* Maloji Powar previously granted a share of revenue of a village in Nasik to the ancestors of Jaya Shankar and Deo Shankar, physicians for opening a charitable dispensary. The

1. Vide pp. 3-10 of *Chandrachud Daftar*.

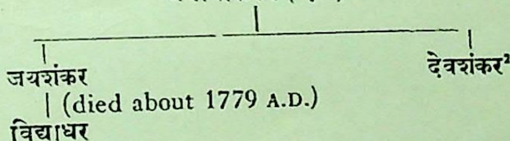
2. *Selections from the Satara Rajas and the Peshwā's Diaries II*, Balaji Bajirao Peshwa—Vol. II, Bombay 1906, p. 132—The diary describes Jaya-Śaṅkara as वेदमूर्ति राजश्री जयशंकर व वेदशंकर (=देवशंकर ?) बिन भवानीशंकर वैद्य गुजराथी, उपनांव देव, गोत्र अवतखण, सूत्र वाजश्री". Jaya Śaṅkara's father had a share of revenue in the village called *Talegaun* Ajner, Pargaṇe Nasik. This share was granted to him by Maloji Powar. After Maloji's death, Jagajīvan Pawar the son of Maloji continued it. In 1754–55 the *Saranjām* of Jagajīvan Powar was confiscated by the Peshwa and consequently Jaya Śaṅkar and his brother lost the revenue of the village in question. The Peshwa directed the restoration of the revenue to the two physicians by the present grant.

Powar's *Saranjām* was discontinued by government and the above grant was attached. It was now restored, with some addition, to the physicians on condition that if they failed to dispense medicines to the poor the grant would be revoked."

I have no doubt that the Gujarathi physician *Jaya S'aṁkara* mentioned in the above extract is exactly identical with *Jaya S'aṁkara* whose opinion is recorded by Ranganath Joshi in his treatise on piles composed in A.D. 1765. It is possible to conclude that Jaya Śaṁkara may have been living in 1765. He appears to have died about 1779–80 A.D. because during the reign of Peshwa Savai Madhavrao an order[1] was issued by the Peshwa to the Kamāvīsdar of the Nasik paragaṇā directing him to continue the revenue of the village Talegaun Ajner in favour of the son of *Jaya S'aṁkara* by name *Vidyādhara*, who was then residing at Nasik. The summary of the extract from Savai Madhavrao's Diary as given by the editors reads as follows :—

A.D. 1779–80—"(1063) The Government *amal* of the village, of Talegaun Ajner in pargaṇá Násik was granted to Jayshankar and Dewashankar bin Bhawani Shankar Vaidya Gujarathi in consideration of their dispensing medicines gratis to the poor. The *amal* was on their deaths continued to Jayshankar's son Vidyádhar Vaidya, to be spent on medicines for the poor."

From the two extracts from Peshwa Diaries, summaries of which have been quoted above we can reconstruct the genealogy of the family of Jaya Śaṁkara as follows :—



It appears that this Gujarathi family of physicians was resident in the Nasik Paragaṇā long before A.D. 1754 i.e. during the life-time of Jaya Śaṅkara's father.

1. *Vad and Parasnis*: Peshwa Diaries, VIII—Savai Madhavrao Peshwa (Vol. III), Bombay, 1911, p. 222—*Extract No. 1063*.

2. This देवशंकर, physician, appears to be a different person from his namesake देवशंकर who wrote his work अलंकारमंजूषा in praise of the Peshwas Raghunathrao, Madhavarao, Narayanrao and Vishvasrav and who was the son of Nahnābhai and resident of Rāṇer (= *Rander* near Surat) (Vide my article in *Bha. Iti. Mandal Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII (1938), pp. 92–95).

KARPŪRĪYA ŚIVADATTA AND HIS MEDICAL TREATISES— BETWEEN A.D. 1625 AND 1700.

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KARPŪRĪYA ŚIVADATTA AND HIS MEDICAL TREATISES — BETWEEN A.D. 1625 AND 1700.

Aufrecht records the following manuscripts of *Śivakośa* by Śivadatta with his own commentary :—

CC I, 647—" शिवकोश lexicon by Śivadatta Oxf. 195*a*"[1]

CC, *II*, 154—" शिवकोश lexicon by Śivadatta Comm.–Śivaprakāśa by the same, Stein 54."[2]

Both the MSS of the *Śivakośa* and its commentary *Śivaprakāśa* mentioned by Aufrecht are inaccessible to me for study and analysis. Subsequent to the publication of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* the B. O. R. Institute published a list[3] of MSS added to the Government MSS Library. In this list we find a complete MS of the *Śivakośa* with the *Śivaprakāśa* viz. *No. 616 of 1895–1902*. As the lexicon was composed in A. D. 1677 and as it is a compilation based on many early lexicons and other works it is worthwhile recording a complete list of the works and authors mentioned in it especially because no such list has been given either by Aufrecht or Stein. Prof. Ramāvatāra Śarma also refers to this lexion casually in his survey[4] of lexicons. Aufrecht[5] mentions संज्ञासमुच्चय as the work

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1. Vide p. 195 of Aufrecht's Catalogue of MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1864. Aufrecht has pointed out the date of the lexicon viz. Śaka 1599 (= S. D. **1677**) represented by the chronogram " नवग्रह-तिथि " at the end of the work.

2. Vide p. 54 of *Catalogue of Jammu MSS*. (1894).

MS. No. 398— शिवकोशव्याख्या शिवप्रकाशः by शिवदत्त कर्पूरीय चतुर्भुजात्मज — dated Saṁvat 1880 (= 1824), complete. The text and commentary are by the same author — Date of composition Śaka 1599 (S. D. **1677**).

The B. O. R. I. MS *No. 616 of 1895–1902* has the following colophons :—

Text—" इति कर्पूरीय शिवदत्तकृतः शिवकोषः पूर्णः "

Comm.—" इति श्रीकर्पूरीय चतुर्भुजात्मज मिश्रशिवदत्तकृतः शिवप्रकाशः पूर्णः"

3. Vide p. 23 of *Lists of MSS* (B. O. R. I.) Poona, 1925.

4. Vide p. 1 Intro. to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. 1, Baroda, 1928 — " The *Śivakośa* of Śivadatta composed in **1677** is homonymous and has a commentary called *Śivaprakāśa*."

5. *CC*, *I*. 687 — " संज्ञासमुच्चय med. by Śivadattamiśra, L. 1481."

of Śivadatta and records only one MS of it, viz. "L. 1481". This MS has been described by Rajendralal Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*[1] It was copied in A. D. *1719* and is perhaps the oldest dated MS of Śivadatta's works. At any rate it is removed in point of time by about 42 years from the *Śivakośa* and its commentary. Śivadatta[2] was a physician trained under his own father Caturbhuja and other emiment and learned physicians of his time as stated by him in verse 2 at the close of his संज्ञासमुच्चय.

Works and authors mentioned by Śivadatta in his *own commentary on the Śivakośa* (MS No. 616 of 1895–1902) are :—

1. वाग्भट, fol. 1
2. शब्दार्णव, fol. 2
3. मेदिनी, fol. 3
4. विश्व, fol. 3
5. धन्वंतरी, fol. 3
6. भावमिश्र, fol. 3, (C. A.D.1550)
7. राजनिघंटु, fol. 4
8. केयदेव, fol. 4, [Vide my paper in *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute XIX, 188–190].
9. अभिधानचूडामणि, fol. 4
10. अमर, fol. 4
11. हृदयदीपक, fol. 4
12. निघंटु:, fol. 5, निघंटु: (5)
13. डल्लण, fol. 5
14. वाचस्पति, fol. 5, 6
15. हैमः, fol. 6
16. वाप्पचंद्रः, fol. 6
17. मदनविनोद, fol. 7
18. त्रिकांडशेषः, fol. 8
19. वोपदेव, fol. 8
20. देवलः, fol. 9
21. सिंहः, fol. 10
22. हलायुधः, fol. 10
23. द्विरूपकोष, fol. 10
24. मेघदूत fol. 11
25. विश्वलोचन, fol. 11, (Vide my paper in the *Karnāṭak Historical Review,* III, 15–20).
26. वाग्भट्टाचार्यः, fol. 11
27. तारपालः, fol. 12
28. लोचन, fol. 12, (See No. 25 above)

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1. Vide p. 79, of Vol. IV of Notices—MS No. 1481 Dated Śaka 1641 = (A. D. **1719**) — A treatise on Nosology, Therapeutics and Materia Medica: By Śivadatta Miśra.

End :— " संज्ञासमुच्चयममुं लघुवाग्भटादि-
ग्रंथप्रकाशनपरं विषमस्थलेषु।
तातादधीत विधिवद्वरवैद्यविद्यः
चक्रे चतुर्भुजसुतः शिवदत्तमिश्रः ॥२॥ "

2. Vide Aufrecht *CC, II,* 60 — नलोदयटीका by शिवदत्त. Peters 5. 351 = *MS No. 351 1892–95.* This शिवदत्त calls himself "भगवन्मिश्रतनूजः".

29. गुणरत्नमाला, fol. 13
30. सिद्धमन्त्रप्रकाश, fol. 14
31. वैद्यवल्लभः, fol. 14, 62
32. रत्नकोष, fol. 15
33. रुद्र, fol. 15
34. रभस, fol. 15
35. बाणभट्ट, fol. 15
36. दमयन्तीकाव्य, fol. 15
37. अमरचंद्र, fol. 16
38. रसरत्नसमुच्चये वाग्भटाचार्यः, fol. 16
39. शाश्वत, fol. 20
40. लोलिंबराज, fol. 21, (Vide my paper in *Indian Culture*, VII, Nos. 3–4)
41. धर्म्मदास, fol. 22
42. माधव, fol. 22
43. नाममाला, fol. 24
44. केशव, fol. 25
45. नान्यदेव fol. 25
46. अमरमाला, fol. 32
47. वोपालित, fol. 32
48. धर्म्मिष्ट, fol. 33
49. आश्चर्यमंजरी, fol. 33
50. धरणि, fol. 34
51. राम, fol. 35
52. भारवि, fol. 35
53. हेमचंद्र, fol. 36
54. सुभूति, fol. 37, [Vide my paper in *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) XVI, 313–314 and Prof. *Kuppuswami Sastri, Volume*, 41–51)
55. हारावलि, fol. 39
56. अजय, fol. 41
57. पुरुषोत्तम, fol. 41
58. मुकुट, fol. 44, 68
59. रामाश्रमाः, fol. 45, 57, 59, 83, 91, 93, 96
60. माघ, fol. 45
61. वृद्धाः, fol. 47
62. नारायणभट्टाः fol. 53
63. माला, fol. 53
64. हेमाद्रि, fol. 59, (Hemādri's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* is possibly referred to (Vide my Introduction to *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* edited by Harishastri Paradkar, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938)
65. सुश्रुत, fol. 59
66. अष्टांगसंग्रह, fol. 66
67. वंगसेन, fol. 68, (Vide my paper in *Indian Culture*, III, 535–543)
68. रंतिदेव, fol. 73
69. प्राच्याः, fol. 71
70. हट्टचंद्रः, fol. 74
71. चंद्रनंदनः, fol. 74
72. रूपनारायण, fol. 76, 83
73. स्वामी, fol. 77, 83
74. कालिदास, fol. 80
75. विदग्धमुखमंडन, fol. 88
76. जेज्जटः, fol. 90
77. भवभूति fol. 92
78. गुणमाला, fol. 93
79. उत्पलिनीकोष, fol. 104

Many of the lexicons in the above list are mentioned innumerable times but I have desisted from noting all these references for want of space. I shall prove in a separate paper that the references to " रामाश्रमाः " by Śivadatta (Vide No. 59 in the above list) are to the व्याख्यासुधा commentary on the *Amara-*

kośa by Bhānuji Dīkṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.[1] Bhāuji flourished between A. D. 1600 and 1650 or so and hence may be looked upon as the senior contemporary of Śivadatta, who composed his lexicon in A. D. 1677.

It appears that Śivadatta was a learned physician and had an equally learned son of the name Kṛṣṇadatta, who composed, a commentary on the *Dravyaguṇaśataślokī* of Trimalla.[2] This commentary is called *Dīpikā* or *Dravyadīpikā*. Aufrecht records the following MSS of this commentary :—

CC. I. 120—" Oudh IX, 26 " and " NP V, 30 "

CC. II. 57—" Rgb 922 " (by कृष्णदत्त son of शिवदत्त). The MS " Rgb 922 " is identical with No. 922 of 1884-87 in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. This MS contains a corrupt colophon as follows :—

folio 33—" विश्ववंदित्तचतुर्भुजतातावासविद्यशिवदत्तसुतस्य । कृष्णदत्तः कृतिनः कृतिरेपा "

It is clear from this colophon that कृष्णदत्त was the son of शिवदत्त, who was himself the son of चतुर्भुज. In verse 2 at the beginning of the work Kṛṣṇadatta refers to his own authorship of the work as follows :—

" त्रिमल्लभट्टरचितो यो द्रव्यगुणसंग्रहः ।
कृष्णदत्तेन तट्टीका क्रियते द्रव्यदीपिका ॥ २ ॥ "

On the strength of the data gathered so far we can reconstruct the following genealogy and chronology of Śivadatta's family :—

कर्पूरीय चतुर्भुज (A. D. 1600-1650)
|
Son
{ Between A. D. 1625 and 1700 } शिवदत्त Composed शिवकोश with Commentary in A. D. 1677 and संज्ञासमुच्चय (MS of A. D. 1719)
|
Son
(C. A. D. 1700) कृष्णदत्त Composed द्रव्यदीपिका

1. Vide my paper on the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the *Annals* (Tirupati Ori. Institute) Vol. I, pp. 117-127. Bhānuji was a contemporary of Varadarāja, the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji (Vide my paper in *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, pp. 188-199).

2. Trimalla flourished between A. D. 1383 and 1499 according to Prof. H. D. Velankar (Vide p. 59 the *Catalogue of B. B. R. A. Society MSS*, Vol. I (1925) — MS No. 175 of *Dravyaguṇaśataślokī*).

Aufrecht has already pointed out that शिवदत्तमिश्र is mentioned in the *Kavīndracandrodaya*. This work has now been published.[1] In the list of Benares Pandits whose tributes to Kavindrācārya Sarasvati[2] are recorded in the above work we find the name of शिवदत्तमिश्र. The identity of this शिवदत्तमिश्र with his namesake the author of the *Śivakośa* needs to be examined. *Śivakośa* was composed in A. D. 1677 by Śivadatta and it is highly probable that this author who was a junior contemporary of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvati may have joined other Benares Pandits in their chorus of congratulations offered to Kavīndrācārya on the occasion of the abolition of the pilgrim tax at Benares through the successful intervention of Kavīndrācārya with Emperor Shah Jahan (A. D. 1628–1658)

The editors of the *Kavīndracandrodaya* make the following remarks regarding Śivadatta Miśra in their Introduction (p. viii):—

"44. *Śivadatta Miśra*, son of Caturbhuja, author of Śivakoṣa written in 1677 and Saṁjñā Samuccaya (med.) (CC. I, 649*a*). Prose passages 1-14 on p. 26."

Evidently they tentatively follow the identification of the Ś. Miśra of the *Kavīdracandrodaya* with his namesake, the author of the *Śivakośa* as suggested by Aufrecht. We have, however, to see if the prose passages ascribed to Śivadatta Miśra furnish any conclusive proof about this identity. My examination of prose passages shows nothing in them to prove the above identity except the identity of names indicated by the expression.

"शिवदत्तमिश्राणामेताश्चतुर्दशप्रशस्त्यनुपूर्व्यः"

Prof. Velankar describes a MS[3] of a commentary on the *Rasahṛdaya* of Govinda. This commentary was composed by one चतुर्भुजमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र of the Kurala family (कुरलवंशपयोधि). Has this चतुर्भुजमिश्र of the कुरलवंश any connection with the कर्पूरीयचतुर्भुजमिश्र? This question cannot be answered at present.

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1. Edited by Dr. Hara Datta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar, published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1939.

2. Vide my paper on "*Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvati at the Mughal Court*" (*Annals of the S. V. Ori. Institute*, *Tirupati*, Vol. I, Part 4, pp. 1–16).

3. Vide p. 64 of *Cata. of B. B. R. A. Society's MSS* Vol. I. (1925) — MS No. 192. One चतुर्भुज composed his रसकल्पद्रुम in Saṁvat 1705 = A. D. **1649** (Vide p. XXXV of Stein's Kashmir Catalogue) for Shāyastā Khān.

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LOLIMBARĀJA AND HIS WORKS.

By MR. P. K. GODE, M.A.

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By P. K. Gode

According to Dr. A. B. Keith[1] Lolimbarāja's *Vaidyajīvana* is a late medical work of the *17th Century*.

The *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*[2] assigns Lolimbarāja to A.D. 1633.

Mr. Krishnamachariar[3] states that Lolambarāja belonged to Harihara's court, but he does not state when this Harihara flourished.

Aufrecht makes the following entries about Lolimbarāja and his works :—

CC I, 546 — लोलिम्बराज Son of Divākara, client of Harihara, Son of Sūrya :—

—*Camatkāra Cintāmaṇi*[4] (med.)
—*Ratnakalā Caritra*[5] (med.)
—*Vaidyajīvana*[6]

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1. *Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 511.

2. Ed. by S. Chitrava Shastri, Poona, 1937, p. 721.—This Kośa states that Lolimbarāja was the son Dinakarabhaṭṭa Joshi of Junnar (Poona District). He had married a Muhammedan girl of the name Ratnakalā. He composed a work on medicine called *Vaidyajīvana* and a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* called *Harivilāsa*. He composed some songs as well. His real name appears to have been Tryambakarāja. . He calls himself *"Kavipātashah"*.

3. Vide p. 216 (section 129) of *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1937. "To Harihara's court belonged Lolambarāja, son of Divākara a descendant of Sūryapaṇḍita. In *Harivilāsa* (Kāvyamālā, Bombay) in 5 Cantos and in *Sundara Dāmodara* he describes the history of Kṛṣṇa ending with the death of Kaṁsa. He was a great physician and his works on medicine, written in excellent poetry, are much admired."

4. CC I, 183—"चमत्कार चिंतामणि by Lolimbarāja. K. 212. Bik. 635, Burnell 69[a]".

5. CC I, 489—"रत्नकलाचरित्र med. by Lolimbarāja. IO 2079, B. 4,234.

6. CC I, 671—वैद्यजीवन by Lolimbarāja—numerous MSS.

Commentaries :—

1 by ज्ञानदेव or दामोदर K. 220.

2 by प्रयागदत्त called विज्ञानन्दकरी Oudh XI, 34.

–*Vaidyavilāsa*[7]*(?)* Khn. 88. See *Harivilāsa.*
–*Vaidyāvataṁsa*[8]
–*Harivilāsa Kāvya*[9]
–*Lolimbarājīya* (med.) Oppert II. 3316.

I shall now try to record the chronological data gathered from the available MSS. of the works of Lolimbarāja mentioned by Aufrecht in the foregoing entries.

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3 by भवानीसहाय N W 582
4. by रुद्रभट्ट IO. 1906, 2071, 2180, B. 2, 240, 242, Bik. 662, NW. 594. Oudh 1876, 34. XV, 140. P. 15. Poona 306. Peters. 1. 119.
5. by हरिनाथ H. 346. Peters. 2, 197.

CC II, 146–Commentaries :

1 प्रयागदत्त Oudh XX, 252.
2 रुद्रभट्ट Peters. 4, 41.
3 हरिनाथ BL 247. Stein 190.

CC III, 128–Commentaries :

(1) रुद्रभट्ट AK 948, As. p. 185. Peters. 6. 463, Tb. 162.
(2) हरिनाथ Bd. 913. Peters. 6. 462.

Dr. Raghavan refers to the following commentaries on the *Vaidyajīvana* in a private communication dated 9th October 1939 :–(1) By Sukhānanda Yati (Ed. Bombay, 1863). (2) An elaborate anonymous Comm. (IO. 6234 and Madras Trien. 2221). (3) By Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita (2 MSS.–Mysore I, p. 365). (4) By Tātā Sūryanārāyaṇa [Madras Trien. 2844(b)].

7. CC I, 613.

8. CC I, 613– "वैद्यावतंस by Lolimbarāja. B. 4. 244. Burnell 67ª. Oppert II. 8367." Dr. Raghavan informs me that there is one MS. of the work at Rājāpur.

CC II, 147–"Stein 190".

9. CC I, 761– "हरिविलासकाव्य written by order of King Harihara, son of Sūrya, by Lolimbarāja, L. 83, K. 68. B. 2, 114. Bik. 233. Katm. 7. Oudh. V, 6. NP. VIII, 16. Burnell 113ª. Gu. 4. P. 10. Bhk. 27 (fr.). Oppert 3897. II, 2539. Peters. 3. 397. Printed in Pandit 2. 79. Quoted by पुरुषोत्तमदेव in वर्णदेशना ।

CC II, 236–"Ulwar 987".
CC III, 157–"Bd. 487. IO. 2420"

(1) *Harivilāsa*

About *Harivilāsa* Dr. A. B. Keith[10] observes :—"about 1050 Lolimbarāja wrote his *Harivilāsa* which in Canto iii gives the usual descriptions of seasons and in IV of Kṛṣṇa." If Lolimbarāja wrote about A.D. 1050 a poem of the name *Harivilāsa* he must be different[11] from another Lolimbarāja who composed his *Vaidyajīvana* in the *17th Century* as stated by Keith elsewhere (p. 511).

Aufrecht states (CC I, 761) that the *Harivilāsa Kāvya* is quoted by Puruṣottamadeva in his Varṇadeśanā. If this statement is correct it supports Keith's statement that Lolimbarāja wrote the Harivilāsa about 1050 A.D. because the date of Puruṣottama[12] as given by Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā is about the 1st half of the 12th Century.

I shall now examine some of the available MSS.[13] of the text of

10. *Sanskrit Literature,* p. 137— Footnote :—"Ed. KM. 62. The date C. 1000 ascribed by Bhandarkar p. 20 is dealt with by Pischel (Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena, pp. 37 f.). Cf. Fleet Bombay Gaz. i, 2. 563."

11. Aufrecht (CC I, 546) evidently supports the identity of the two Lolimbarājas : (1) author of *Vaidyajīvana* and (2) the author of *Harivilāsa* by including both these works under one entry.

12. Vide p. xxii of Intro. to *Kalpadrukośa,* Vol. I, Baroda, 1928. Sarvānanda (1159 A.D.) refers to Puruṣottamadeva in his *Amarakośa-ṭīkā.*

13. The Tanjore MSS. Library contains 5 MSS. of the *Harivilāsa* (Vide pp. 2854 ff. of *Tanjore MSS.* Cata. Vol. VI, 1929).

MS. No. 3857—does not contain verse 96 at the end of Canto V of the printed Kāvyamālā Edition. This verse contains a reference to the poet as रत्नकलारमण।

MS. No. 3858—contains the verse "श्रीमान् हामरसो···चिरम्" giving the genealogy of King Hari, the patron of the author.

MS. No. 3859—does not give the verses containing the reference to रत्नकलारमण।

MSS. Nos. 8860 *and* 8861—are incomplete.

The Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute contains the following MSS. of the *Harivilāsa* :—

(i) No. 78 of 1871-72—ends—

"नानागुणैरवनिमंडनमंडनस्य । श्रीसूर्यसूनुहरिभूमिभुजो नियोगात् ।
त्रैलो(क्य)कौतुककरं क्रियते स्म कार्यं । लोलिंबराजकविना कविनायकेन ॥५४॥
इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपंडितकुलालंकारहरिहरमहाराजोद्योतितलोलिंबराजविरचिते हरिविलासे महाकाव्ये कंसवधो नाम पंचमः सर्गः···············

the *Harivilāsa* as found in the Kāvyamālā Edition (1895) Part XI (pp. 94 to 133). This examination may give us some dates of the MSS. of this poem as also the date of composition of the poem as recorded in the MSS. :—

Date of the copy is recorded as "रसवेदेषुभूशाके १५४६" =*A.D.* 1624.

(ii) No. 467 of 1884-87.

(iii) No. 468 of 1884-87 — "हरिविलासः संपूर्णः ...... किं त्यक्त्वेत्यारभ्य तदास्तां चिरमित्यन्तं पद्यद्वयं हरिविलासमुद्रणान्तावसरे श्रीहरिचन्देति प्रसिद्धमहाधनिकपुस्तकागारोपलब्धं ततश्च हरिहरमहाराजस्य पितामहो ह्यमरसशर्मा गयागिरिनिवासी मौन्युपनामको भार्गवगोत्रीयोऽवगतः जननी च हरिहरमहाराजस्य येल्हाम्बिकेति भूमिकायामनुक्तमपि स्मर्तव्यमिति शमिति"।

(iv) No. 487 of 1887-91—does not contain verses 96 and 97 at the close of Sarga V (printed text). It does not contain the two verses beginning with "किं त्यक्त्वा" and ending with "चिरम्" found in some MSS. as substitutes for verses 96 and 97 of the printed text.

(v) No. 204 of 1879-80—does not contain verses 96 and 97 referred to above. It does not contain the two verses beginning with "किं त्यक्त्वा" etc. ending with "चिरम्"। It ends as follows :—

"काव्यं हरिविलासाख्यं ये पठिष्यंति केचन ।
तेभ्यः श्रीहरिरत्रैव द्रव्यं दास्यति दैन्यहृत् ॥१॥
शके मिते बाणनभः शरेंदुभिः सुभानु संवत्सरकोत्तरायणे ।
अमोघमासस्य च शुक्लपक्षे कलौ कृतं काव्यमिदं जगन्मुदे ॥ इति । हरिविलासः ॥

The above verse gives Śaka 1505=A.D. 1583 as the date of composition of the poem (Vide IHQ., Dec. 1936 pp. 719-20 of Mr. Patkar's article).

The date of copying of the MS. is "संवत् १६७९" "शाके १५४४"=A.D.1622-3.

(vi) No. 377 of 1884-86.—This MS. ends as follows :—

"किं त्यक्त्वा वसतिर्बलिक्षितितले पातालमेवाश्रितं
भो भोगीश्वर हंत तत्र सततं मां क्लेशयन्त्यर्थिनः ।
आस्तेकोपिहरिगयाचलगिरौ क्षमापालचूडामणि-
स्तेनार्थिप्रकरः कृतोधनदवद्गच्छाधुना त्वं सुखं ॥५६॥
हरिराजप्रतापार्कप्रतप्तांगी दिगंगना ।
दिगांका बीजयंतीव कर्णतालैः पुनः पुनः ॥५७॥

The foregoing examination of the MSS. of the *Harivilāsa* gives us the following chronology :—

A.D. 1583—Date of composition recorded in a verse found in two MSS. at the B.O.R. Institute, one of these MSS. being copied in A.D. 1622.

A.D. 1622—Date of MS. (No. 204 of 1879-80).

A.D. 1624—Date of MS. (No. 78 of 1871-72).

In the Kāvyamālā Edition of this poem we find the following verses[14] before the last verse "नानागुण....कविनायकेन" :—

श्रीमाहारसौभवद्विजाकुलालंकारचूड़ामणि-
गंगा निर्मलमौनभार्गवकुले तस्याद्वसुपंडितः ।
आसीचास्य सुभःसुरःसतुक्ती येल्हांबिकायां चिरा-
ल्लेभे श्रीहरिनाम रत्नमवध्य(?)तदास्तां चिरं ॥५८॥
नाना गुणै······लोलिम्मराजकविना कविनायकेन ॥५९॥

इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपंडित·········पंचमः सर्गः ॥

काव्यं हरिविलासाख्यं ये पठिष्यन्ति पंडिताः ।
तेभ्यः श्रीहरिरत्रैव द्रव्यं दास्यति दैन्यहृत् ॥१॥
शके मते वाणनभः शरदेंदुभिः १५०५
सुभानुसंवत्सरकोत्तरायणे ।
अमोघमाघस्य च शुक्लपक्षे
कलौ कृतं काव्यमिदं जगन्मुदे ॥२॥"

The above colophon is important as it contains (1) the genealogy of the author's patron from King हरि of गयाचलगिरि and (2) the date of composition of the poem viz. 1505=A.D. 1583 found in MS. No. 204 of 1879-80.

14. The editor of the Kāvyamālā states that in some MSS. the following two verses are found in place of verses 96 and 97 adopted by him in the printed text :—

"किं त्यक्त्वा वसतिं बले क्षितितले पातालमेवाश्रितं
भो भोगीश्वर हन्त तत्र सततं मां क्लेशयन्त्यर्थिनः ;
अस्ते कोऽपि हरिर्गयाचलगिरौ क्ष्मापालचूड़ामणि-
स्तेनार्थिप्रकरः कृतोधनदवद्गच्छाधुना त्वं सुखम् ॥

"सुजनैः कुजनैरपि रत्नकलारमणस्य कवेः कविताश्रवणात् ।
रमणीभणितं मुरलीरणितं भ्रमरीभणितं तृणवद्गणितम् ॥ ९६ ॥
अतसी कुसुमोपमेयकान्तिर्यमुनाकूलकदम्बमूलवर्ती ।
नवगोपवधूविनोदशाली वनमाली वितनोतु मङ्गलानि ॥ ९७ ॥

These verses are not found in any of the B.O.R. Institute MSS. including MS. dated, A.D. 1624 (No. 78 of 1871-72). Verse 96 contains a reference to the poet as **रत्नकलारमणस्य कवेः** i.e. as husband of **रत्नकला**, which is significant in view of the MS. of **रत्नकलाचरित** (med.) recorded by Aufrecht viz. IO. 2079 and B 4. 234.

It is possible to surmise that the verses 96 and 97 found in the Kāvyamālā edition of the *Harivilāsa* and containing the epithet **रत्नकलारमण** with reference to the poet are a later interpolation.

(2) Commentaries on the Harivilāsa

MS. No. 182 of 1902-07.—This is a MS. of a commentary on the 1st Sarga of the *Harivilāsa* (by Raghunātha) called Subodhinī. Raghunātha states that our poet Lolimbarāja was a resident of Junnarapattana or the town of Junnar and was an incarnation of the goddess of the

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श्रीमान्ह्रामरसोऽभवद्द्विजकुलालंकारचूड़ामणि-
र्गङ्गानिर्मलमौनिभार्गवकुले तस्माद्रविः पण्डितः ।
आसीत्तस्य सुतः सुरासुरक्कृतिं येल्हाम्बिकायां चिरा-
ल्लेभे श्रीहरि नाम रत्नमवनीमध्ये तदास्तां चिरम् ॥"

The genealogy of the patron of the author of the Harivilāsa as given in the above verses is as follows :—

हरि (King at गयाचलगिरि)
|
ह्रामरस (a द्विज of मौनिभार्गवकुल)
|
रविपण्डितः
|
× येल्हांबिका
|
Son
|
हरि (patron of लोलिंबराज author of हरिविलास)

place Satyaśṛṅga.[15] It appears from this statement that the commentator Raghunātha was aware of the association of Lolimbarāja with Junnar in the Poona District but as we don't know the date of Raghunātha it is difficult to determine the exact antiquity of this association.

MS. No. 425 of 1884-87.—This is a commentary by Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara, son of Caturbhuja. It is called *Sāhitya Saccandrikā*.[16] As the MS. is fragmentary it is difficult to make any immediate use of it for chronological purposes.

I have noticed the above commentaries[17] on the *Harivilāsa* briefly because Aufrecht records only two commentaries on this poem, only one of which is available to me viz. that by Kamalākara noticed above.

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15. Vide verses 4 and 5 on folio 1 which read as follows :–

"सत्यशृंगनिवासिनी भगवती लीलावतारोभव-
च्छ्रीमज्जुनरपत्तनाधिवसतिर्लोलिंबनामा कविः ।
तत्काव्ये भगवत्प्रिये हरिविलासाख्ये मया टिप्पणं
भट्टश्रीरघुनाथशर्मविदुषा संतन्यते कौतुकात् ॥४॥
हरिविलासकाव्यस्य श्रीलोलिंबराजकवेः कृतौ ।
नाम्ना सुबोधिनी व्याख्या रच्यते छात्रतुष्टये ॥५॥"

On folio 12 the commentator explains "लोलिंबनां" "वैद्यानां" and quotes a lexicon in his support :–"लोलिमस्तु चिकित्सकः इति केशवः"। In the Colophon he refers to his guru त्र्यंबकराज ("श्रीमत्र्यंबकराजगुरुचरणप्रसादे प्रेरित") ।

16. On folio 14 we have the following Colophon :–
"इति श्रीमच्चतुर्भुजसुतभट्टश्रीकमलाकरविरचितायां साहित्यसच्चंद्रिकायां हरिविलासव्याख्यायां प्रथमसर्गः समाप्तः ।
Colophon of II Sarga reads as follows :–

"इति श्रीमच्चतुर्भुज............द्वितीयः सर्गः । भूमंडलमध्यवर्त्तिपत्तनवरनगरसेहराभिधानपुरविरचितवसतिना श्रीगौडक्षितिसुरवंशभूषणज्योतिर्विन्नृसिंहतत्पुत्रलिवाभिधानतत्पुत्रहरनाथास्तत्पुत्रदिनकरस्तत्पुत्रज्योतिर्विद्विश्रामतनुसंभवेन न्यायाब्धिपारकलनतत्परेण मातृ हरिव्याई कुक्ष्युद्भवेन भ्रातृभनाहनाभिधानकनिष्ठभ्रात्रा भट्टकमलाकरेण कृतोयं लेखः परोपकृतये स्वोपयोगाय लक्ष्मीनाराय(ण)चरणकोकनदोल्लसाय च" ।

17. Vide Aufrecht CC II, 183.—Commentaries on the *Harivilāsa* :–

(i) By कमलाकर Son of Caturbhuja, Rgb. 425 (=No. 425 of 1884-87)

(ii) By यादवाकूत Son of केशवाकूत BL. 115 (1), 116 (2); it is called भावार्थदीपिका । Raghunātha's Commentary on this poem was not known to Aufrecht.

(3) *RATNAKALĀ CARITRA*

Only two MSS. of the *Ratnakalā Caritra* have been recorded by Aufrecht. The MS. in the India Office Library[18] is described as "a dramatic poem of 84 verses (mainly Prākrit) by Lolimbarāja." This MS. is dated *Saṁvat* 1708 = A.D. 1651. The interlocutors in this dramatic poem are *Lolimmarāja, Ratnakalā* a *Sakhī,* a *budhī(?), Daūlata* and *Ātmārāma.* Bühler records a Ms.[19] of the *Ratnakalā Caritra* but he has included it in the works on Medicine.

As the poem appears to have been composed in Marāṭhī its author may have been a resident of Junnar. He may also be identical with the **रत्नकलारमणकवि**[20] referred to in the verses 96 and 97 which

18. Vide, p. 1491 of Vol. VII of *Ind. Office Mss.* Catalogue (1904) Ms. No. 2079c. Verse 1 at the beginning refers to the author :—

"जयति धरणिपीठे लालल्लोलिम्मराजः" ।

Verse 83 at the end also contains a reference to the poet :—

"लोलिम्मराजरचितैर्विविधैर्विचित्रैर्-
वैदग्ध्यवद्भिरहरत्नकलाचरित्रैः" ।

The specimens of the Prākrit as recorded in the catalogue may be given here :—

"यडिघडिमुजपासों गोष्ठिया (?) ची करावीं
सकलभुवनभित्ती तो विचित्रिं लिहावो (?) ।
वहु घहु उतकण्ठा जीउ जाइ लिजाणा
क्षणभरि तुम्हि आणा लालल्लोलिम्मराजः ॥२॥"

last verse —"अतिरत्नकलाचरित्रजाले
सकलां हि कविच्या मनासि आले (?) ।
अमृताहुत गोडजाले
पठ्वां वे पुठिलासि (!) भक्तिभावैः ॥८४॥"

19. *Sanskrit Mss. from Gujrat etc.,* Fasc. IV, Bombay, 1873, p. 234. The MS. belonged to Nīlakaṇṭha Raṇchoḍ of Ahmedabad.

20. The *Vaidyajīvana* contains references to रत्नकला as follows :—

"अवले कृत कामबले चलदृक् कमले कमलातनुरत्नकले" I. 74.

"अपि रत्नकले कलानिधे कुशले कोकिलकोमलस्वरे" I. 79.

appear to me to be an interpolation substituted in the Harivilāsa in place of the verses giving the genealogy of the patron of the author with some particulars, which yet remain to be identified.

Lolimbarāja, the author of the *Ratnakalācaritra* referred to above appears to be identical with Lolimbarāja about whom the following particulars are recorded in Marāṭhī sources :—

In the History of Marāṭhī Literature called the *Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata*[21] by V. L. Bhave some account of poets of the "16th Century" is recorded. This account furnishes the following particulars about Lolimbarāja :—

Lolimbarāja is known as the author of a commentary in Marāṭhī on the 10th skandha of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. He was a resident of Junnar.[22] His surname was Joshi and his descendants are still living in Junnar province. He wrote a Sanskrit work on medicine called the *Vaidyajīvana*. Many songs attributed to him are found in literature and in some old MSS. He was a well-known saint being included among the saints like **उद्धवचिद्घन, रङ्गनाथ** and **शिवराम.** Devadāsa[23] also

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"अयि रत्नककले नीलनलिनछद्ने क्षणे" III. 12.

"रत्नकला कृते मूलं गवाक्ष्याः etc. III. 43.

"अयि रत्नकले कुरुमाकलहंसकलहंसकलत्रसमानगते" IV. 46.

The Commentator Harinātha (A.D. 1674) explains the name "रत्नकले" as रत्नजातिश्रेष्ठे" (fol. 30 of Ms. No. 913 of 1887-91). This explanation as also his explanation of सप्तश्रृङ्ग as हिमालय (fol. 4) is indicative of the fact that he (as early as A.D. 1674) was not aware of the biographical particulars about the Deccani Lolimbarāja. In verse 22 of *Vaidyajīvana* a medical preparation is named after रत्नकला ("चूर्णं रत्नकलाभिधं गुडपयोयुक्तं etc).

21. 2nd Edition, Poona, 1919, Published by B.I.S. Mandal, pp. 167 ff.

22. Raghunātha in his Commentary on the *Harivilāsa* calls लोलिंब as resident Junnaar ("जुन्नरपत्तनाधिवसतिः लोलिंबनामा कविः) ।

23. Bhave quotes the following reference to Lolimbarāja in Devadāsa's work :—

"लोलिंबराजें करितांस्तवन । मस्तकीहून काढिलें जीवन ।
भक्तवत्सल तूं भगवान । महिमा कोण वर्णूं शके ॥"

Mr. Bhave mentions two Marathi authors of the name देवदास, one of these two was the pupil of saint Rāmadāsa while the other was "चैतन्यशिष्य" (*Mah. Sārasvata*, p. 285).

refers to him. The account of his early life is very interesting. He was the son of Divākarabhaṭṭa.[24] In his younger days he was of a gay temperament and given to enjoyments. From a work called **लोलिंबराजआख्यान** it appears that he married a beautiful young Muhammedan girl whom he named **रत्नकला**[25] । He was extremely attached to her. After her death his outlook on life changed. He then became a devotee of **सप्तशृङ्गभवानी**[26] and after some penance came to be

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24. In the Colophons of Mss. of *Vaidyajīvana* Lolimbarāja is called दिवाकरसूनु । This parentage is supported by the following verse towards the close of Vilāsa V of the *Vaidyajīvana* (Ms. No. 1093 of 1886-92, folio 33[a]):—

"आयुर्वेदवचोविचारसमये धन्वन्तरिः केवलं
सीमा गानविदां दिवाकरसुधांवोधि त्रियामापतिः ।
उक्तंसः कविताकृतां मतिमतां भूभृत्सभाभूषणं
कांतोक्त्या कृत वैद्यजीवनमिदं लोलिम्मराजः कविः ॥२४॥"

The following editions of the *Vaidyajīvana* have been published :—(1) Bombay, 1874; (2) Edition with *Dipikā* of Sukhānanda and *Bhāṣyanivṛtti* of Mihiracandra (Sanskrit and Hindi, Venkateshwar Press, Bombay 1920).

25. Mr. Bhave quotes the following verses from लोलिंबराज आख्यान (p. 169)—

"ज्याची कीर्ति जगत्रईं प्रगटली मन्दाकिनीचेपरी ।
जो एके घटिकेंत शंभर नवीं पद्यें विनोदें करी ॥
ज्याला 'कविपातशाह' पदवी विद्वज्जनी दीधली ।
तो हा रत्नकले ! तुला विनविंतो लोलिंबराजः कवी ॥"

26. Raghunātha in his Commentary on the *Harivilāsa* refers to this goddess and our author's devotion to her as follows :— 'सत्य (प्त) शृङ्गनिवासिनी भगवती लीलावतारोऽभवत्" (v. 4 at beginning of MS. No. 182 of 1902-07).

The *Vaidyajīvana* refers to सप्तशृङ्ग in verse 2 at the beginning as follows :—

"रत्नं वामदृशां दृशां सुखकरं श्री सप्तशृङ्गास्पदं
स्पष्टाष्टादशवाहुतेद्भगवतो भर्गस्य भाग्यं भजेत् ।
यद्भक्तेन मया घटस्तनि घटी मध्ये समुत्पाद्यते
पद्यानां शतमङ्गनाधरसुधास्पर्शाविधानोत्सुरं ॥२॥"

very much respected by the people. His work "Vaidyajīvana" was composed in Śaka 1555 (=A.D. 1633). — Mr. Bhave then describes a MS. of *Vaidyajīvana* with him as follows :—

All the verses in this MS[27] are in Marāṭhī. The work is narrated to his beloved. The work ends with the line :— **इति श्रीलोलिंवराजग्रन्थ वैद्यजीवन संपूर्ण ।**

One त्रयंवकराज[28] is often mentioned in this work. Can we surmise if त्रयंवक was the name of the author himself?

Lolimbarāja is referred to by many authors.

(4) *Camatkāracintāmaṇi*

The Bikaner MS. of this work has been described by Rajendralal Mitra.[29] He describes it as a work "on practice of medicine. By Lolimbarāja, Son of Divākara Paṇḍita". The parentage of the author given in the Colophon[30] of this MS. is identical with that given in the

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Vide p. 433 of Pangarkar's *History of Marathi Literature*, II (1935). सप्तश्रृङ्ग is situated to the north of Nasik. The image of the goddess at this place is 12 ft. high, with 18 arms.

27. So far we know only the Sanskrit work *Vaidyajīvana*. The Marāṭhī *Vaidyajīvana* referred to by Mr. Bhave may be a Marāṭhī translation of the Sanskrit original by the author himself or by रघुनाथ the *Commentator* of the *Harivilāsa* who mentions त्र्यम्बकराज as his गुरु in this *Harivilāsaṭīkā* while Mr. Bhave informs us that the Marāṭhī *Vaidyajīvana* contains numerous references to one त्र्यम्बकराज ।

28. Raghunātha in his Commentary on the *Harivilāsa* refers to one त्र्यम्बकराज as his guru (see MS. No. 182 of 1902-07).

29. Catal. of Bikaner MSS., Calcutta, 1880, p. 635.

30. This Colophon reads as follows :—

"इति श्रीमद्दिवाकरपण्डितसूनुलाललोलिम्बराजविरचिते चमत्कारचिन्तामणौ नरप्रदिको नाम समाप्तः ॥"

The name "लाललोलिम्बराज" given in the above Colophon is exactly identical with "लाललोलिम्बराज" in the following line of the रत्नकलाचरित्र (I.O. MS.):—

"क्षणभरि तुम्हि आणा लाललोलिम्मराजः"

MS. of the *Vaidyajīvana*[31]. Burnell[32] describes a MS. of the *Camatkāra-cintamaṇi,* but he does not say anything about the authorship of the work, perhaps owing to the incomplete nature of the MS.

(5) *Vaidyāvataṁsa*

Burnell[33] describes a MS. of this work and states that it is a work by Lolimbarāja. He does not say anything about the parentage of this author.

The above work described by Burnell is identical with the work[34]

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31. In verse 3 of Vaidyajīvana, Lolimbarāja refers to दिवाकर as follows :–

"दिवाकरप्रसादेन रोग्यारोग्यं समाहृया ।

समासेन वयं कूर्मं वाक्यं सद्वैद्यजीवनम् ॥३॥"

32. Tanjore MSS. Part I, London, 1879.–"a rather absurd work on the cure of diseases, beginning with fever and coughs by some pedant whose name is not given." "Wants end ; recent."

33. Ibid, p. 67ª–"*Vaidyāvataṁsa,* brief description of the properties of articles of food, commencing with fruits and ending with meats and preparations of milk by *Lolimbarāja.*" Begins :– "अनुक्तमरकतवर्णा शोभितकर्णाकिदम्बकुसुमेन········ कविकुलसुल्तानो लालिल्लोलिम्बराजः" ।

"Recent. The abstract in red is mostly in Mahratta."

According to लोलिंबराज आख्यान referred to by Br. Bhave Lolimbarāja was given the title कविपातशाह (ज्याला कविपातशाह पदवी विद्वज्जनी दीधली). Compare this statement with the above line from *Vaidyāvataṁsa* viz. "कविकुलसुलतानो लालि-लोलिम्बराजः" ।

34. The MS. begins :–

"अथ वैद्यावतंस लिख्यते ।

अनुक्तमरकतवर्णा शोभितकर्णा कदंबकुसुमेन ।

नखमुखमुखरितवीणा मध्ये क्षीणा शिवाशिवं कुर्यात् ॥१॥

यत्प्रसिद्धमिह वर्तते फलं शाकमन्यदपि तन्निरूप्यते ।

अप्रसिद्धकथनं तु निष्फलं ग्रन्थविस्तरभयान्न लिख्यते ॥२॥"

The MS. ends :–

"वाग्भटस्य मतमस्ति समस्तं

सुश्रुतस्य चरकस्य च किंचित् ।

Vaidyāvataṁsa at the B. O. R. Institute, viz. No. 601 of 1899-1915. This MS. is dated Śaka 1724 = A.D. 1802. The work contains 155 stanzas in all, out of which 7 are devoted to the description and properties of the tobacco plant **तमाखू**. These stanzas bear numbers 56 to 62 and are followed by the statement that they have been taken from some other work[35].

The name of the work has, however, not been indicated in the MS. These verses appear to me to be an interpolation for the reason that the description of the **तमाखू** plant as found recorded in them pre-supposes the plantation[36] of tobacco in India about which no definite evidence for the period 1600 to 1625 A.D. or so has been available, though references to its importation into India have been recorded. Aśad Beg (died 1626) on a mission from Akbar to Bijapur about A.D. 1603 saw tobacco for the first time. In A.D. 1617 Emperor Jahangir forbade its use as it had very bad effect on the health of many people. In 1660 Tavernier speaks of its growing in large quantities

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तद्वदत्रितनयस्य विचित्रं
वाग्विलासरचना मम तावत् ॥१५३॥
अधराद्दिक्कृतबिंबा जितशशिबिंबा मुखप्रभया ।
गमनाविरलविलंबा विपुलनितंबा शिवाशिवं कुर्यात् ॥१५४॥
समस्तपृथ्वीपतिपूजनीयो । दिगंगनाश्लिष्टयशःशरीरः ।
गुणिप्रियं ग्रन्थममुत्ततानं । लोलिंबराजः कविपातशाहः ॥१५५॥
शके १७२४ दुन्दुभी नाम संवत्सरे फाल्गुनशुद्धद्वादशां मन्दवासरे ग्रन्थसमाप्तिमगमत्" ।

35. Vide folio 7 of MS. No. 601 of 1899-1915–

"धूमाख्यो धूमवृक्षश्च·········श्लेष्माणं च विनश्यति ॥६२॥
इति तमाखूनाम गुणांश्च ग्रन्थातरात्संगृहीतं" ।

36. Vide article on *tobacco* in *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, p. 925. *About A.D.* 1604-05.–"In Bijapur I had found some *tobacco*. Never having seen the like in India I brought some with me and prepared a handsome pipe of jewel work. ....His Majesty (Akbar) was enjoying himself after receiving my presents ....his eye fell upon the tray with the pipe and its appurtenances : he expressed great surprise and examined the *tobacco* etc." In the beginning the tobacco was imported into India and was considered an article of curiosity. A gold *tobacco-box* was presented by the King of Siam in A.D. 1622 to Mr. Richard Fursland, "the President of the English nation" at Jaccatra (vide p. 297 of the *Journal of the Siam Society*, August, 1938).

near Barhanpur.[37] The third MS. of the *Vaidyāvataṁsa* as recorded in the Ujjain MSS[38] Catalogue is incomplete.

(6) *Vaidyajīvana*

I am not aware of the authority on which Mr. Bhave[39] made his statement that the *Vaidyajīvana* was composed in A.D. 1633 (śaka 1555). Prof. Velankar states that Bühler[40] records a MS. of the *Vaidyajīvana* which is dated *Saṁvat* 1664 (=A.D. 1608). If this date of MS. is correct it conflicts with the above date of composition of the *Vaidyajīvana* given by Mr. Bhave, viz. A.D. 1633[41]. Harinātha's commentary[42] on the *Vaidyajīvana* was composed in *Saṁvat* 1730=A.D. 1674. We may, therefore, safely put about A.D. 1650 as one terminus to the date of Lolimbarāja.

Though MSS of all the commentaries on the *Vaidyajīvana* are not available to me for examination, I may record here the following dates gathered from the MSS of the work in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

Manuscript	No.	Collection	Saṁvat	Śaka	A.D.
Vaidyajīvana (=V J)	374	1882-83	1848	....	1792
VJ with Comm. of Rudrabhaṭṭa	463	1895-98	1927	....	1871
VJ with Harinātha's Comm.	462	—Do—	1920	....	1864
-Do-	913	1887-91	1890	1755	1834
VJ with Rudrabhaṭṭa's Comm.	353	1879-80	1843	....	1787
VJ with Harinātha's Comm.	635	1895-1902	1868	....	1812
VJ with Rudrabhaṭṭa's Comm.	178	A 1882-83	1822	1687	1766

37. Vide p. 165 of *Bombay Gazetteer* (Khandesh), Vol. XII.
38. *List of Ujjain MSS.*, 1936, p. 50.
39. *Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata*, p. 170.
40. *Gujarat MSS.*, Fasc. IV, (1873) p. 241.
41. Cf. *Bodleian MSS. Cata.* by Winternitz and Keith, Vol. II, Oxford 1905, p. 112–MS. No. 1092 (1) of वैद्यजीवन, "*The date is uncertain ;* A.D. 1633 according to Sinh Jee but a MS. of 1608 appears to exist, Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 2." The text of *Vaidyajīvana* with Harinātha's Commentary was printed at Benares in 1868.

42. See Velankar's *Cata. of BBRAS. MSS.*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 68–MS. No. 199.–The Chronogram for the date of composition of the Commentary is "विक्रमाब्द्गगणनाखंवह्निसप्तेन्दु" Saṁvat 1730. The MS. was copied at Akbarābād in Saṁvat 1884=A.D., 1828.

It will be seen from the above table that the oldest dated MS of the VJ at the B. O. R. Institute is dated A.D. 1766, but this date of MS. is of no use in our chronology of Lolimbarāja's works. In the *Catalogue of Ujjain MSS.* a MS[43] of the *VJ* with Rudrabhaṭṭa's Commentary dated Śaka 1728 (=A.D. 1806) has been recorded.

Kielhorn[44] records two dated MSS. of the *VJ;* one is dated Saṁvat 1810=A.D. 1754 while the other of the commentary of Jñānadeva or Dāmodara is dated Saṁvat 1669=A.D. 1613. If this date of a MS. of *VJ,* viz. A.D. 1613 is correct it supports the date A.D. 1608 of a MS. of the text of the *VJ,* recorded by Bühler. The cumulative effect of these two dates would enable us to push back the date of Lolimbarāja *before A.D.* 1600[45]. This conclusion based on the actual dates of MSS. makes it impossible for me to believe in the accuracy of the statement of Mr. Pangarkar that Lolimbarāja flourished between A.D. 1578 and 1648.

The evidence recorded so far about Lolimbarāja's works leads me to divide it in two sections : (1) Evidence about Lolimbarāja, the author of the poem Harivilāsa and (2) Evidence about Lolimbarāja, the author of Vaidyajīvana and other works. The details of this evidence may be best represented as follows :—

Lolimbarāja I.	Lolimbarāja II.
(1) Author of *Harivilāsakāvya* (= *HK.*). (2) Composed *HK* in A.D. 1583. The verse recording the Chronogram for this date is found in two MSS. of the *HK,* one of them being copied in A.D. 1622. (3) In the *HK* the author refers to him, only as "लोलिंबराज कविनायक"	(1) Author of the following works :— (i) *Vaidyajīvana=VJ.* (ii) *Vaidyāvataṁsa=VT.* (iii) *Camatkāracintāmaṇi=CC* (iv) *Ratnakalācarita=RC* and other Marāṭhī works. (2) The following Chronology of the MSS. of this author is available :— A.D. 1608–MS. of *VJ.*

43. *Cata. of Ujjain MSS.,* 1936, p. 50.

44. *C. P. MSS.,* Nagpur, 1874, p. 221—*MS. No.* 74 वैद्यजीवन सटीकम् —*Saṁvat* 1810 and MS. 75— वैद्यजीवनटीका of Jñānadeva or Dāmodara—*Saṁvat* 1669.

45. Mr. Pangarkar (in his *History of Marathi Literature,* Vol. II, (1935) pp. 603-4) repeats the date of composition of *Vaidyajīvana* viz. Śaka 1555 (=A.D. 1633) given by Mr. Bhave. He further states that Lolimbarāja's Chronology lies between Śaka 1500 and Śaka 1570 i.e. *Between* A.D. 1578 to 1648 a period of about 60 years. According to Mr. Pangarkar Ratnakalā was the daughter of the Yavana Subhedār of Junnar.

Lolimbarāja I.	Lolimbarāja II.
in the concluding verse of every Sarga in which he also states that he composed the poem *HK* by order of king हरि.	A.D. 1613—MS. of *VJ*-Comm. of Dāmodara.
(4) MSS. of *HK* are dated as follows :— A.D. 1622—No. 204 of 1879-80; A.D. 1624—No. 78 of 1871-72.	A.D. 1651—MS. of *RC* (IO. MS.)
(5) Except the name Lolimbarāja the *HK* gives no information about the author. Verses 96 and 97 referring to the poet as रत्नकलारमण are spurious.	A.D. 1674—Harinātha composed Comm. on *VJ*.
(6) Verses 96 and 97 at the end of the printed edition of the *HK* are spurious as they are not found in any of the 8 MSS. of the *HK* examined by me. On the contrary the verses recording the genealogy of the patron of our author are supported by the following MSS. :— (i) Ms. referred to in *No.* 468 *of* 1884-87. (ii) *No.* 377 *of* 1884-87 which records the date of composition, viz. A.D. 1583. (iii) MS. referred to by the Editor of the Kāvyamālā Edition of the *HK* in the footnote at the end of the poem. (iv) Tanjore MS. No. 3858 contains the verse "श्रीमान् ल्हामरसो etc."	A.D. 1766—MS. of Rudrabhaṭṭa's Comm. on *VJ*.
	(3) The parentage of this author is given in the *CC.* as दिवाकरपण्डितसूनु (see Colophon) and in the *VJ* (in the text and in the Colophons).
	(4) No reference to the patron king is found in the works *VJ, VT, CC, RC*. This omission stands in vivid contrast with the name of king Hari referred to many times in the *HK* of Lolimbarāja I.
	(5) Ratnakalā, supposed to be the wife of this author is referred to in the *RC* which bears her name in the *VJ* in which she is adressed by name in some verses and in the Marāṭhī work लोलिंबराज आख्यान, in which our author is called कविपातशाह. In the *VT* the author calls himself कविकुलसुलतान as also कविपातशाह (v. 155).
(7) There is no evidence in the *HK* to prove that its author belonged to the Mahārāṣṭra. On the contrary, the patron king of this author hailed from a place called गयाचलगिरि. This king's genealogy is as follows :— हरि— ल्हामरस-रविपण्डित (m. येल्हांबिका) son हरि (patron of the author of the *HK*). This line belonged to मौनिभार्गवकुल which is called a द्विजकुल.	(6) The reference to the place सप्तशृङ्ग is found in verse 2 of *VJ* (this may be the सप्तशृङ्ग to the north of Nasik). This author belonged to the Mahārāṣṭra. The Commentator Harinātha (A.D. 1674) having no knowledge of the सप्तशृङ्ग hill near Nasik wrongly explains the expression "सप्तशृङ्गास्पदं" as "सप्त शृङ्गे हिमालये एव आस्पदं स्थानं यस्य तत्" (fol. 4 of MS. 913 of 1887-91). Rudrabhaṭṭa explains the expression as "सप्तशृङ्गाख्यः पर्वतः etc." (fol. 3 of MS. No. 463 of 1895-98).

I hope the evidence recorded in this paper about Lolimbarāja and his works will enable scholars[46] to clarify some of the issues raised in this study but which still require more evidence to enable us to arrive at definite decisions. I have tried to put together whatever information I could get from the sources so far available to me with a view to help a more detailed examination of the several works of Lolimbarāja than what I have been able to carry out in the preparation of this tentative study.

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46. Since this paper was drafted Dr. V. Raghavan of the Catalogus Catalogorum office, Madras University, has sent to me the information recorded by his office regarding Lolimbarāja and his works. Some of this information may be recorded here :—

(1) Edition of *Harivilāsa-Kāvya (Pandit* II.)—Here the editor makes Lolimbarāja a contemporary of Bhoja.

(2) There are numerous MSS. of the *Harivilāsa,* in none of which we find the chronogram (=A.D. 1583) found in the B.O.R. Institute—2 MSS.

(3) In the *Vaidyajīvana* Lolimba describes himself as proficient in Vaidyaka, Kāvya and Music. No MS. of a music work of Lolimba has yet been found.

(4) In the South Indian MSS. of the *Vaidyajīvana* (Trien. Cata. No. 2221, 2371, 2844 (a) the work is called *"Sadvaidyajīvana.*

(5) In Madras MS. No. 2371 referred to above the colophon says that Lolimba was the son of king of Muñja of Vidarbha.

(6) Rudrabhaṭṭa, the Commentator on the *Vaidyajīvana,* was the son of Koneribhaṭṭa, who was doctor to one *Khān Khān* and Rudra himself wrote under *Mīrkhān.* If the identity of these two *Khānas* is proved we may have some external datum for Lolimba's date limits.—I am thankful to Dr. Raghavan for the information sent by him.

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THE NATURE AND CONTENTS OF A LOST MEDICAL TREATISE BY KHARANĀDA OR KHĀRAṆĀDI

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THE NATURE AND CONTENTS OF A LOST MEDICAL TREATISE BY KHARANĀDA OR KHĀRAṆĀDI

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Aufrecht[1] refers to खरनाद as the name of an author referred to by Aruṇadatta in his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II. The following passage is found in Aruṇadatta's commentary on verse 34 of Chapter I of the *Cikitsitasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*.[2]

'तथाच खारणादिरपाठीत्—" बहुद्रव्यो घनः स्वच्छमल्पौषधंजलम् " इति '

In foot-note 7 on p. 549 the editor notes the variant 'खरनादोऽपाठीत्'. These two variants खारणादि and खरनाद found in two MSS of Aruṇadatta's commentary *Sarvāṅgasundarā* on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* give rise to the question whether the correct name of the author quoted by Aruṇadatta[3] (about 1220 A.D.) is खारणादि or खरनाद. This doubt is further aggravated by the use of the variant खरणादि in the following passage from Aruṇadatta's commentary on verse 77 of Chap. I of the *Cikitsitasthāna* (p. 559) :—

" खरणादेऽप्युक्तम्—' पटोलं फलं निम्बं कर्कोटककठिल्लकम् । शाकं पर्पटकं च स्यात् ' इति '

As against these three variants viz. (1) खारणादि ; (2) खरणादि and (3) खरनाद found in the MSS of Aruṇadatta's commentary, we find that Hemādri has quoted extensively from a medical writer called by him as ' खारणादि '. As Aufrecht does not record any MSS of the works of the author खारणादि or even his name it would be useful to record the quctations from खारणादि's work found in the *Āyurvedarasāyana*[4] of Hemādri.

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1. *Cata. Catalogorum* Part I, p. 136 *b*.
2. Edited by Paradkar Sastri, N. S. Press, Bombay, p. 549 ; On p. 136 Hemādri (between 1260–1309 A. D.) quotes Aruṇadatta " मधु-क्षौद्रम् ' मार्द्वीकम् ' इति अरुणदत्तः " and " ' मैरेयो ' ... ' खर्जुरासवः ' इति अरुणदत्तः "
3. Vide Hoernle : *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907, p. 17.
4. Vide p. 10 of my Introduction to the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II (Ed. by Paradkar Shastri). *Āyurvedarasāyana* was composed between 1271 and 1309 A.D. (when Rāmacandra of Devagiri was ruling). Hemādri refers to his earlier work *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi* in the *Ā. rasāyana*.

These quotations are as under :

Page 40—" यदाह खारणादिः—"पित्तं शाम्यति, तच्छैत्याद्वायुः श्लेष्मा च चीयते " इति

Page 42—" यथोक्तं खारणादिना—" स्वभावशैत्याद्रौक्ष्याच्च वातकोपाद्बलक्षयात् । विधिर्विशेषात्स्निग्धोष्णः शिशिरे हैमनो मतः ॥" इति

Page 43—" यदाह खारणादिः—" हेमन्ते निचितः श्लेष्मा शिशिरेऽपि न कुप्यति । आहारैश्च गुरुस्निग्धैर्भृशमेवोपचीयते " ॥ इति

Page 63—" कालमानं तूक्तं खारणादिना--" वार्षिकं तदहर्वृष्टं भूमिष्ठमहितं जलम् । व्युष्टं द्विरात्रं तच्चैव प्रसन्नममृतोपमम् " ॥ इति

Page 65—" खारणादिना च—" नदीकूपतडागोद्भिद्वाप्यादिषु विशिष्यते । अनूपे गौरवादम्बु शैले धन्वनि लाघवात् " ॥ इति

Page 67—" खारणादिस्तु पाल्वलमवरमाह--" पाल्वलं जलमस्मसाम् " इति

Page 69—" अत एव खारणादिनोत्तमशब्दः प्रयुक्तः--

" गव्यं स्नेहोत्तमं क्षीरं गव्याच्च प्रयसः पयः ।
यथोत्तरं स्नेहहीनमौरभ्रछागमाहिषम् ॥ " इति

Page 70 —" खारणादिस्त्वाह—" स्वाद्वम्लपाकं स्निग्धोष्णं गुरुपित्तकफोल्बणम् ।
आविकं बृंहणं क्षीरं हिक्काश्वासानिलापहम् ॥ " इति

—" युक्तिरुक्ता खारणादिना[1]–"अर्धोदकं क्षीरशिष्टमामाल्लघुतरं स्मृतम् ।
" स्यान्निर्जलं श्रुतं द्वित्रिचतुरष्टांश शेषितम् ॥
यथाशृततमं सारं गुरुबल्यतमं पयः । " इति

Page 74—" मारुताध्मानजननश्चेक्षूणां भक्षितो रसः । " इति खारणादिनाप्युक्तं वातलत्वं भुक्तमात्रपीतेक्षुरसविषयम् । "

—" उक्तं च खारणादिना—" मध्यकाण्डे सुमाधुर्यमिक्षोर्मूलाग्रपर्वसु ।
माधुर्यं साम्ललवणं विदाही तेन यान्त्रिकः ॥ " इति

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1. These three lines quoted by Hemādri as from खारणादि's work are quoted by Aruṇadatta as from खरनाद's work :—

Page 70—(*Sarvāṅga-Sundarā* of Aruṇadatta on verse 28 of chap. V of Sūtra-sthāna of Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya)—" युक्तिः योग उपायः । खरनादेन क्षीरस्य श्रपणे युक्तिः स्पष्टं कृत्वा दर्शिता—" अर्धोदकं क्षीरशिष्टमामाल्लघुतरं शृतम् । " इति........

" खरनादेनोक्तम्—" स्यान्निर्जलं शृतं द्वित्रिचतुरष्टांशशेषितम् ।
यथा शृतभमं सारं गुरुबल्यतमं पयः ॥ " इति "

Page 85—" रक्तः श्येनाहृतो गौरः सुगन्धः काञ्चनो महान् ।
पतङ्ग : कलमः पाण्डुर्लोहवाल : प्रमोदक : ॥
दीर्घनालः शीतभीरुः सारिवः शङ्खमौक्तिकः ।
तूर्णको दीर्घशूकाख्यो लाङ्गलाद्यश्च शालयः ॥
शीतला मधुराः स्निग्धा ग्राहिणो मांसशुक्रलाः ।
वातपित्तहराबल्याः सृष्टमूत्राः सहायनाः ॥
स्निग्धः शीतो लघुर्ग्राही तृष्टाघ्नः शुक्रमूत्रलः ।
रक्तशालिस्त्रिदोषघ्नः कलमोऽनु महांस्ततः ॥ " इति खारणादिः "

Page 88—" ननु, स्निग्धोष्णा कफवातघ्नी सतिक्ता मधुराऽतसी । "
इति खारणादिना श्लेष्मघ्नत्वमुक्तम् "

Page 89—" यदाह खारणादिः—" वर्षस्थितं सर्वधान्यं परित्यजति गौरवम् ।
न तु त्यजति तद्वीर्यं वीर्यं मुञ्चत्यतः क्रमात् ॥ " इति

Page 98—उक्तं च खारणादिना—" अविदाह्यनतिस्निग्धं नातिशीतलमामिषम्
छागं लघु त्रिदोषघ्नमनभिष्यन्दि बृंहणम् ॥ " इति

Page 99—" स्वाद्वम्लपाकं स्निग्धोष्णं वातघ्नं बृंहणं गुरु ।
स्वेदनं तर्पणं हृद्यं बल्यं शौकरमामिषम् ॥ "
इति खारणादिवचनादुष्णत्वस्याप्यौपदेशिकत्वात् "

Page 100—" शिरोवत्पादगौरवम् " इति खारणादिना पादयोः शिरस्तुल्यत्व-
वचनात् चकारात् पादयोश्च गौरवं विद्यात् ॥
—" यदाह खारणादिः—" सक्थिस्कन्धा उरः शीर्षं मुष्कौत्वङ् मेहनं कटिः । गुरूत्तरोत्तरं विद्याच्छिरोवत्पादगौरवम् " इति । ननु, खारणादिस्त्वचोधिकं कट्या गौरवमाह etc. "

Pane 102—" खारणादिः—" सस्नेहोष्णं लघुस्वाद पाके दोषानुलोमनम् ।
उक्तं तिक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नं शाकं निम्बपटोलयोः ॥[1]
तथा,–पटोलनिम्बवातघ्नतिक्तमन्यत्तु वातलम् । " इति । तत्र खारणाद्युक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नत्वमेव ग्राह्यं etc. "
—" निम्बे तु खारणाद्युक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नत्वं फलविषयम् "
—"आह खारणादिः—"अवल्गुजः सैडगजः पित्रकृत्कफवातजित् । "
इति । "
—" तथा वेत्राग्रस्य खारणादिना त्रिदोषघ्नत्वमुक्तम् "

1. Quoted by Vopadeva in *Siddhamantraprakāśa*, folio 8.

Page 104—" अत एवोक्तं खारणादिना—
" चञ्चुर्मर्मरिका पाठा वेत्राग्रं सुनिषण्णकम् ।
शठी शाकं च सङ्ग्राही दोषत्रय हितं लघु ॥[1] " इत्यादि

Page 105—" अलाबु भेदनं तेषां त्रपुस त्वतिमूत्रलम् ।
एर्वारुकं सृष्टमूत्रं, ग्राहि कर्कारुचिर्भेटम् ॥ " इति खारणादि वचनात् "

Page 105—" यदाह खारणादिः—' कालशाकं सकारञ्जं कटुकं वातकोपनम् ।
दीपनीयं प्रशस्तं च विषशोकोदरार्शसाम् ॥ इति "

Page 107—" तथा च खारणादिः—" रूक्षं विदाहि तीक्ष्णोष्णं कटुकं स्वादु-पच्यते । उत्क्लेदि स्तम्भि गुर्वामं मूलकं त्रिमलोल्बणम् ॥ " इति

Page 110—" रूक्षमाम्लं दाडिमं यत्तु तत्पित्तानिलकोपनम् " इति खारणादि वचनात् । "

Page 113—" भव्यं स्वादुकषायाम्लं रूक्षं गुर्वास्यशोधनम् ।
शीतं ग्राह्यरुचिच्छर्दिरक्तपित्तकफापहम् ॥ " इति खारणादिना पृथग्गुणकथनात् "

Page 114—" उक्तं च खारणादिना—" फलाम्लिकैरावतककोशाम्रकरमर्दकम् ।
आम्रातकं दन्तशठमम्लोष्णं रक्तपित्तलम् " इति । "

—" अत एव खारणादिना—" ग्राह्यम्लं बदरं रुच्यं लघूष्णं मारुता-पहम् । मधुरं तद्गुरुस्निग्धं शीतं पित्तानिलापहम् " इत्युक्तम् "

Page 116—" सस्नेहं मधुरं पाके वर्ण्यं रोचनदीपनम् ।
दोषत्रयघ्नं चक्षुष्यं शीतं सस्वादु सैन्धवम् ॥ " इति खारणादिना शीतमुक्तम् etc. "

—" सैन्धवं सारसं पाक्यं सौवर्चलमथौद्भिदम् ।
पूर्वं पूर्वं गुणोत्कृष्टमुष्णं तेषां यथोत्तरम् ॥ " इति खारणादिनैवो-ष्णत्वस्योक्तत्वात् "

—" ऊर्ध्वानुलोम्यकृद्वायोः शूलघ्नं दीपनं बिडम् । " इति खारणादि वचनात् "

Page 117—" ननु, " स्वाद्वम्लभावात्पवनं, कटुतिक्ततया कफम्
कषायमधुरत्वाच्च पित्तं हन्ति हरीतकी ॥ "
इति खारणादिना पित्तघ्नत्वमप्युक्तम्

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1. Quoted by Vopadeva, Ibid, folio 7.

Page 118—" खारणादिना हरीतकीलक्षणमप्युक्तम्—
" क्षिप्ताम्भसि निमज्जेद्या गुणकृत्सा प्रकीर्तिता । " इति
—" खारणादिरपि—" कषायमधुरं शीतं लघुपित्तकफापहम् ।
बिभीतक तस्मात्त्रिफला सार्वयौगिकी ॥ " इति
—" अत एव खारणादिना कषायमधुरमुक्तम् "

Page 119—" यत्तु " रोपनं दीपनं छेदि सुगन्धिककफवातजित् ।
नात्युष्णं कटुकं तीक्ष्णं मरिचं नातिपित्तलम् ॥ इति
खारणादिना नात्युष्णत्वं नातिपित्तलत्वं चोक्तम् "

Page 133—" यदाह खारणादिः—" गुडमाषतिलक्षीरविरूढबिसमूलकैः ।
ग्राम्यानूपौदमांसानि त्वेकेनापि विरुध्यते ॥ " इति ।

Page 138—" यदाह खारणादिः—" दोषप्रकृतिदेशर्तुव्याधीनां स्वगुणैः पृथक् ।
विपरीतगुणैः सात्म्यं तुल्यं चासात्म्यमुच्यते ॥ " इति ।

Page 141—" उक्तं च खाराणादिना—" इन्द्रियातिश्रमाद्रूक्षो वातलो जागरो निशि । तदालस्याद्दिवास्वप्नः स्निग्धः पित्तकफोल्बणः ॥ आसीन-प्रचलस्वप्नो निरभिष्यन्दि बृंहणः । ' 'इति

Page 143—" अत एवाह खारणादिः—" असुप्तानां तथा रात्रौ तन्मात्रं स्वपनं दिवा । " इति

Page 148—" उक्तं च खारणादिना—" यदभ्यवहृतं सम्यग्यथाकालं जरां व्रजेत् । प्रकृत्यविकृतिं कृत्वा तन्मात्रालक्षणं विदुः ॥ " इति । "

Page 150—" उक्तं च खारणादिना—" विसूच्यलसकौ वाम्यौ पिप्पलीलवणा-म्भसा । " इति ।
—" स्वेदफलवर्तिद्रव्याण्युक्तानि खारणादिना—
" शूले तु स्तिमिते सामे स्वेदः शस्तो मुहुर्मुहुः ।
रूक्षोष्णैः कटुकैः पांशुकरीषसिकतादिभिः ॥
पिप्पल्योगारधूमश्च मदनं सर्षपास्त्रिवृत् ।
हेमक्षीरीवचा किण्वं कुष्ठं दन्ती यवाग्रजः ॥
समूत्रलवणाभ्यक्ताफलवर्तिरियं हिता ।
संस्वेद्यालसके शूलविबन्धानाह नाशिनी ॥ " इति

Page 151—" तथा च खारणादिः—" आमाशयविशुध्यर्थमथैनमुपवासयेत् ।
जीर्णे विरिक्तवृत्तिः स्याद्या प्रोक्ता मण्डपूर्विका ॥ इति ।

Page 153—" यदाह खारणादिः—" विष्टब्धे स्वेदनं वर्त्यो लवणोष्णाम्बु शस्यते । विदग्धे वमनं शस्तमुपवासो विरेचनम् ॥ " इति "

Page 154—"तथा च **खारणादिः**—" एतान्युक्तानि लिङ्गानि त्वामाजीर्णे। विनिर्दिशेत् । " इति
—तथा च **खारणादिः**—" आमे त्वामप्रशमनं विमाने द्विविधं मतम् । इति ।

Page 155—यदाह **खारणादिः**—"रसशेषे हितः स्वप्नो घर्माम्बु लघुभोजनम्" । इति । "

Page 158—यत्तूक्तं **खारणादिना**—" कटुं लवणमम्लं वा पूर्वमाहारमाहरेत् । आहारो मधुरोऽग्रे हि गुरुर्विष्टभ्य जीर्यति ॥ " इति ।
—" यदाह **खारणादिः**—"कामं दोषवदप्यन्नममात्रं वा निषेवितम् । अल्पदोषमदोषं वाऽप्यनुपानेन जीर्यति ॥ " इति ।

Page 159—" यदाह **खारणादिः**—" कृशक्षीणामयोन्मुक्तपुष्टिवर्णबलार्थिनाम् मद्यस्त्रीश्रमनित्यानां शुष्यतां च रसो हितः ॥ " इति ।

Page 167—" एके **खारणादिप्रभृतयः** गुर्वादीन् गुणान् वीर्यं च वदन्ति । "

Page 188—"यथा च **खारणादिः**—" पञ्चकर्माणि सर्पींषि सतिक्ताबस्तय- स्तथा । पयः " इति ।

Page 189—" **खारणादिरप्याहः**--" रसधातोः परं धाम पच्यमानात्प्रसीदति । सौम्यस्वभाव रक्ताग्रे यत्तदोजः प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ " इति ।

It will be seen from the foregoing extracts that Hemādri (about A.D. 1271) had before him a medical work by a writer of the name खारणादि and even though the work has been now lost the quotations recorded above will acquaint the reader with the form and nature of its contents. It appears that in Hemādri's time and even earlier the treatise of *Khāraṇādi* was looked upon with authority since a writer of Hemādri's learning and literary repute quotes from it extensively as an authoritative work. From the identity of a quotation ascribed by Hemādri to खारणादि, and to खरनाद by Aruṇadatta we have suggested above that the names खारणादि and खरनाद are identical. Let us now see if the name खारणादि uniformly used by Hemādri in his quotations from this treatise is corroborated by any contemporary usages. Fortunately for us such contemporary testimony has been forthcoming from Vopadeva and his father Keśava. Vopadeva was a protege

of Hemādri and was the author of several works.[1] The following verse[2] found at the end of the *Muktāphala* shows us the versatile productivity of Vopadeva :—

" यस्य व्याकरणे वरेण्यघटनाः स्फीताः प्रबन्धा दश। प्रख्याता नववैद्यकेऽपि तिथिनिर्धारार्थमेकोद्भुतः। साहित्ये त्रय एव भागवततत्त्वोक्तौत्रयस्तस्य च। भूगीर्वाणशिरोमणेरिह गुणाः के के न लोकोत्तराः॥ "

Farquhar[3] assigns Vopadeva[4] to 'C. 1300 A.D.' or 'End of the 13th century'. Our Vopadeva should not be confounded with a late writer of the same name[5] who wrote a commentary on the *Rasamañjarī* of Bhānudatta in A.D. 1572.

In view of the close personal contact of Hemādri and his learned protege Vopadeva, it is possible to suggest that the treatise of ' खारणादि ' used by the one is exactly identical with that used by the other and mentioned as ' खारणादि ' as the following quotations in Vopadeva's *Siddhamantraprakāśa*[6] will amply prove :—

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1. Vide Aufrecht, CCI, 616*a*—Vopadeva was son of Keśava and pupil of Dhaneśa. He was Pandit to Mahādeva, King of Devagiri. He is quoted in the *Mādhavīyādhātuvṛtti*. He composed the following works :—(1) *Kavi Kalpadruma*, (2) *Kāvya Kāmadhenu*, (3) *Triṁśat-ślokī Āśaucasaṁgraha*,- (4) *Dhātukośa* and *Dhātūpāṭha*, (5) *Paramahaṁsapriyā*, (6) *Paraśurāma-pratāpaṭīkā* (*Śrāddha Kāṇḍa*), (7) *Bhāgavata-purāṇa-dvādaśaskandhānu krama*, (8) *Mahimnastavaṭīkā*, (9) *Mugdhabodha*, (10) *Rāmavyākaraṇa* (perhaps the same as *Mugdhabodha*, (11) *Śataślokī* and its comm. *Śataślokī-Candrakalā*, (12) *Śārṅgadharasaṁhitā-gūḍhā-rthadīpikā* (med.), (13) *Siddha-mantra-prakāśa* (med.), sometimes attributed to his father, (14) *Harilīlā*, (15) *Hṛdayadīpanighaṇṭu* (med.), (16) Some anonymous work on *dharma* sometimes quoted in *Nirṇayasindhu*, in *Ācāramayūkha* and once in *Śrāddha-mayūkha*, (17) *Muktāphala*.

2. Vide P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, 358.

3. *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 234, 374.

4. Vide pp. 44-45 of *Life of Hemāḍpant* by K. H. Padhye, Bombay February 1931.

5. Vide S. K. De : *Sanskrit Poetics* I (1923) p. 251—Gopāla Ācārya alias *Vopadeva* of the Kauṇḍiṇya-gotra, son of Nṛsiṁha and grandson of Gopāla of Jabala-grāma in the Mahārāṣṭra country. The date of this Commentary is A.D. 1572 and not A.D. 1428 (vide my note in the *Annals* of the B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XVI (1934-35) pp. 145-147.

6. My references to this work are from MS. No. 1101 of 1886-92 in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. Aufrecht records the following MSS of the text and commentary :—

(*continued on the next page*)

Folio 5—Keśava refers to खारणादि in the following verse :—

" वातलं चरको ब्रूते वातघ्नं वष्टि पु(सु)श्रुतः ।
खारणादिर्वदत्यन्यदित्युक्तेरत्र निर्णयः ॥ ५ ॥ "

Vopadeva comments :—" चरकसुश्रुतयोश्चरकखारणाद्योः etc."॥ " चरकसुश्रुतखारणादीनां च परस्परविरुद्धानां द्रव्यशक्तिविषयानामुक्तीनामत्रग्रंथे निर्णयो निर्णीतार्थकथनं ". This comment makes it clear that the treatise of खारणादि had assumed so much importance in the 13th century that Keśava wrote the work *Siddhamantra* to determine the mutually conflicting texts of *Caraka*, *Suśruta* and *Khāraṇādi* as stated by Keśava in the verse quoted above. It is also clear that Keśava, a contemporary of Aruṇadatta (about 1220 A.D.) uses the name खारणादि and not खरनाद used by the latter as we have seen already. This evidence shows that in the 13th century the names खरनाद and खारणादि were current in Bengal[1] and Mahārāṣṭra[2] respectively and perhaps owing to the

CCI, 717*a* —"सिद्धमन्त्र med. by Keśava K 222. Kh. 91. Kaśīn. 34 comm. सिद्धमन्त्रप्रकाश by his son Vopadeva. K. 222. Kh. 91. Benn. 63, Oudh XIX, 128. Kāśīn. 34.

CCII, 171*b*—" सिद्धमन्त्र med. by Keśava. Peters. 41. comm.—Prakāśa Devipr. 79, 54. Stein 192 (inc.).

CCIII, 148*a*—" सिद्धमन्त्र med. by Keśava AK 955. Peters 5. 553. See also MS No. 13379 (Madras MSS Cata. Vol. XXIII, p. 9006).

1. Vide Mr. N. N. Das Gupta's article on "*Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal in the early Mediaeval Period*" (*Indian Culture* III, pp. 159-160) in which he appears to include Arundatta among Bengali writers on medicine.

2. In the *Siddhamantraprakāśa* Vopadeva gives the genealogy of his father (fol. 45) as follows :—

महादेव who is styled as " महाराष्ट्रनिवासी विप्र "
केशव (learnt आयुर्वेद from भास्कर who is described as " वेदपुराख्य श्रीमद्राजधानीनिवासी विप्र "
वोपदेव.

Keśava states that he was honoured by सिंहराज (सिंहराजात्सन्मानं लेभे). His son explains :—" सिंहराजात्सन्मानं सम्यक्पूजां लेभे लब्धवान्......सिंहराजो दंडक महाराजाधिपो राजविशेषः—सिंहराज the patron of Vopadeva's father is identical with सिंघण or सिंहण (II) (of the Later Yādavas of Devagīri) who ruled from *1210 to 1247* A.D. (Vide p. 189 of Padhye's *Life of Hemāḍpant* and Duff : *Chronology*, p. 310). The date of सिद्धमन्त्र of Keśava may be

(*continued on the next page*)

love of '*taddhita*' formations ascribed to the *dākṣiṇātyas* by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* the form खारणादि became current in the Mahārāṣṭra as proved by the usages of the name in the works of Keśava, his son Vopadeva and Hemādri, the friend and patron of Vopadeva. As the treatise of खारणादि has been lost it is advisable to collect all quotations from it wherever found; I shall, therefore, record here the following quotations in Vopadeva's *Siddhamantraprakāśa* (B. O. R. I. MS) :—

Folio 6—" अत एव खारणादिनापि वातघ्नं न प्रोक्तं तद्वाक्यं—
' कषायात्तु रसं रूक्षं शीतं स्वादु गुणादिकं ।
लेखनं भग्नसंधातृछेदनं विशदं गुरु ॥ ' इति

Folio 7—" किं तु माक्षिकाख्यस्य मधुविशेषस्य खारणादिना स्पष्टीकृतत्वात् "
—" खारणादिना त्रिदोषघ्नेषु पठितं ।
' चंचुर्मसूरिका पाठ वित्राग्रं सुनिषण्णकं ।
पत्र शाकं च संग्राहि दोषत्रय हितं लघु ' ॥ इति "[1]

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between *1210 and 1247* A.D. It appears that the capital of सिंहराज was वेदपुर as stated by Vopadeva and that केशव was a resident of Vedapura.

Singhaṇa had in his employ an astronomer called Cangadeva the grandson of the celebrated Bhāskarācārya. Cangadeva was contemporary of Keśava, Vopadeva's father. This Cangadeva founded a *maṭha* at Pātaṇ (10 miles from Chalisgaon in Khandesh) for the study of the works of his grandfather and others (Vide Epi. Ind. I, 340 ff.). The inscription by Cangadeva at this *maṭha* appears to have been written some years after Śaka 1128 (= A.D. 1206) and it describes Cangadeva as " सिंघणचक्रवर्तिदैवज्ञवर्यः ". In another inscription [of Śaka 1144 (= A.D. 1222)—Epi. Ind., III, p. 112] we find the name of one Anantadeva, who is called *Daivajñāgraṇī* at Singhaṇa's Court. (Vide *History of Indian Astronomy* by S. B. Dikshit, Poona, 1896, p. 248).

1. Hemadri quotes this verse as from खारणादि and it reads as follows :—

" चञ्चुर्मर्मरिका पाठा वेत्रागं सुनिषण्णकम् ।
शठो शाकं च सङ्ग्राही दोषत्रयहितं लघु ॥ "

(P. 104 of N. S. P. edition).

Folio 8—" खारणादिना तु वातघ्नमुक्तं—
'सस्नेहोष्णं लघु स्वादु पाको दोषानुलोमनं ।
ऊष्णं तिक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नं शाकं निंबपटोलयोः ॥'[2] इति "

—" खारणादयोप्याहुः—
'पनसं नारिकेलं च ताल सस्यं च तर्पणं ।
स्वादु शीतं गुरु स्निग्धं बृंहणं कफ शुक्रलं ॥' इति "

Folio 34– 'खारणादि वर्णपक्षः लटाको ललटूपकं इति "

From the above quotations from खारणादि I have been able to identify 2 verses in the quotations from खारणादि recorded by Hemādri in *Āyurvedarasāyana*. This identity inspite of the slight variations of readings proves beyond doubt that the treatise of *Khāraṇādi* known to both the writers viz. Hemādri and Vopadeva, who were not only contemporaries but friends, is identical.

With the data recorded above we are in a position to sum up the results of our discussion as follows :—

(1) Aruṇadatta (about 1220 A.D.) quotes from a medical writer of the name खरनाद.

(2) Aruṇadatta appears to have been contemporary of Keśava, whose patron was King Singhaṇa of Devagiri (A.D. 1210–1247).

(3) Hemādri in his *Āyurvedarasāyana* (after 1270 A.D.) quotes extensively from a treatise mentioned as that of खारणादि.

(4) Keśava's medical work *Siddhamantra* mentions the name of खारणादि and attaches some importance to his views even though they were at variance with those of *Caraka* and *Suśruta*.

(5) The identity of a quotation of three lines found in Aruṇadatta's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* as from *Kharanāda* and in Hemādri's commentary on the same work as from *Khāraṇādi* makes it highly probable that *Kharanāda* and *Khāraṇādi* are identical medical writers.

(6) Vopadeva, the son of Keśava and friend of Hemādri quotes from *Khāraṇādi*'s treatise.

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2. Hemādri quotes this verse as from खारणादि :—
" सस्नेहोष्णं लघु स्वादु पाके दोषानुलोमनं ।
उक्तं तिक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नं शाकं निंबपटोलयोः ॥ "
(P. 102 of N. S. P. edition).

(7) The identity of two stanzas of *Khāraṇādi* quoted by Vopadeva with two stanzas of *Khāraṇādi* mentioned as such by Hemādri in his *Āyurvedarasāyana* proves that both these commentators are referring to an identical work of *Khāraṇādi.*

(8) *Khāraṇādi's* treatise, judging by the quotations, appears to have been in verse. It must have been composed before say A.D. 1150 as it is quoted largely by Aruṇadatta and Keśava about A. D. 1220 and by Vopadeva and Hemādri about 1275 A. D. It would really be an achievement if this treatise of Khāraṇādi, the subject of this paper is discovered hereafter by any one interested in the history of the Aryan medical science. With a view to help such discovery I note below a reference to खारनादः in the commentary of Niścalakara[1] on Cakrapāṇidatta's *Dravyaguṇa-Saṁgraha* (MS No. 620 of 1895–1902).

Folio 11b—" यदाह खारनादः—

' बहुद्रव्यो घनः क्वाथः स्वच्छाल्पद्रवकं जलम् ' इति

The above quotation appears to be from the work of खारणादि but I am unable to say if it is taken first-hand from the treatise in

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1. Aufrecht records the following MSS of the *Dravyaguṇa-Saṁgraha* and its commentaries :—

CCI, 264—"W. p. 294, L 2931, Ben. 64, Bik. 634"
—Comm. by *Niścalakara* Bik. 634
—Comm. by *Śivadāsa* L 2932"

CCIII, 57—"Bd 889
—Comm. by *Niścalakara* Bd. 889 (No. 889 of 1887-91)
—Comm. by *Śivadāsa*, son of Anantasena, Hpr. 1, 189.

Hence we have 3 MSS of Niścalakara's commentary viz. (1) at Bikaner and (2 and 3) in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, one of which viz. No 889 of 1887-91 is mentioned by Aufrecht. The other MS viz. No. 620 of 1895-1902 was acquired subsequent to Aufrecht's Catalogue.

Cakrapāṇidatta's father was Nārāyaṇa of the *Lodhravati* family and was a minister as also the Superintendent of the culinary department of Nayapāla. Cakrapāṇi's elder brother was Bhānu styled as *Antaraṅga*. The commentator Śivadāsa-sena of Mālañci in Pabna was the court physician of Barbek Shah (16th Century) of Bengal. His commentary was based upon an older commentary called रत्नप्रभा (vide N. N. Das Gupta's article in *Indian Culture*, III, p. 157). Śivadāsa's commentary has been edited by Devendra Nath Sen (1st edn.). Evidently the commentary रत्नप्रभा mentioned by Śivadāsa is identical with Niścalakara's commentary of the same name) two MSS of which are at the B. O. R. Institute as stated above.

question or is a second-hand one taken from Aruṇadatta or Hemādri. This quotation gives us another variation of this author's name viz. 'खारनाद्'. Hence we have the following variations of the name of one and the same medical author :—

(1) खरनाद, (2) खारनाद, (3) खरणादि, (4) खारणादि.

The MSS of Niścalakara's commentary appear to be rare. The date of Cakrapāṇidatta[1] is about 1060 A.D. The date of Niścalakara has not been fixed but he is earlier than Śivadāsa who professes that he has based his commentary on the *Ratnaprabhā* (of Niścalakara). Mr. N. N. Das Gupta says that Śivadāsa's date is '16th Century' because he was court physician of Bārbek Shāh of Bengal. Mr. Lane-Poole[2] gives A.D. 1459 or A.H. 864 as the date of Bārbek Shāh of Bengal (House of Ilyās) and if this king is identical with the patron of Śivadāsa the date of Śivadāsa's commentary would be the middle of the 15th century and consequently the *Ratnaprabhā* commentary of Niścalakara can be assigned to the period commencing about A.D. 1150 and ending with about 1400 A.D.[3] These limits can be further

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1. Hoernle :—*Osteology*, p. 16.

2. *Mohammedan Dynasties*, London, 1925, p. 307.

3. The two MSS of *Ratnaprabhā* at the B. O. R. Institute are dated as follows :—

No. 889 of 1887–91—" संवत् १७८४ " (=A.D. 1728) month of *Mārgasīrṣa*, *Śuklapakṣa* 7th tithi, *Guruvāra*—copied at Bikaner.

No. 620 of 1895-1902-- " संवत् १८१४ " (=A. D. 1758) month of *Caītra*, *Śukla*, 2nd tithi.

The *Ratnaprabhā* mentions among others the following works and authors :—वैद्यप्रदीपसंग्रह of भव्यदत्त (fol. 3), जातूकर्ण (5), भेड (5), चरक (5), जेज्जट (6), सुश्रुत (1), भट्टार: (9), भालुकि (10), चक्र (10), वाग्भट (11), ईशानदेव (11), खारनाद (11), वृन्द (21), हरिश्चन्द्र (22), कलहदास (24), रविगुप्त (25), हारीत (25), आयुर्वेदसार (27), चंद्रट (31), बिंदुसार (35), पुष्कलावर्त (22), क्षारपाणि (168), विदेह (64), वराहमिहिर (70), नागार्जुनपादा: (262), नागभर्तृतंत्रा (394), धरणीधर (163), रत्नसार (123), भोज (117), गोवर्द्धन (116), शालक्यतंत्र (159), दृढबल (185), वर्षागणै: (291), शब्दार्णव (237), पृथ्वीसिंह (235) सूदशास्त्र (255), रूपरत्नाकर (449), अमितप्रभ (28).

The colophon on folio 240 reads as follows :—" इत्यंत:पुरवैद्यमहामहोपाध्यायश्रीनिश्चलकरकृतौ चक्रसंग्रहतात्पर्यटीकायां **रत्नप्रभायां** वातव्याधिचिकित्सा समाप्ता: ॥ "

narrowed down to 1250 A.D. and 1400 A.D. as our **commentator** refers to Vijaya Rakṣita[1] who is assigned to about 1240 A.D. by Dr. Hoernle.[2] Niścalakara tells us that his father was **Sadānandakara** (v. 3) and that he wrote this commentary **रत्नप्रभा** (which he calls पुत्री) to give a polish to the gem viz. the **चक्रसंग्रह** which was darkened on account of bad commentaries[3] prevailing on the demise of Vijaya Rakṣita, who is called **आयुर्वेदगुरु**.

The line '**आयुर्वेदगुरौ स्वर्गं गते विजयरक्षिते**' if interpreted to to contain a reference to the death of Vijaya Rakṣita as an occurrence within the memory of the commentator Niścalakara,

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1. Vijaya Rakṣita is referred to in verse 5 of the following introductory verses of the *Ratnaprabhā* :

" पंचभूतप्रपंचेन पंचगोचरचारिणे ।
पंचात्मपंचवक्त्राय निष्प्रपंचात्मने नमः ॥ १ ॥
सर्वमंगलसंगीतं कुर्वन्तु ज्ञानदेवताः ।
व्यसनार्णवतारिण्यः कारुण्यैकरसायनाः ॥ २ ॥
लक्ष्मी लक्ष्मीमिव स्तौमि जनंती जननीश्रियः ।
सदा (नं)दकरं तातं सदानंदकरं ततः ॥ ३ ॥
भवंतु दुर्जना मूका वाचमूकाश्च सज्जनाः ।
सर्वदा कुमुदश्रेणी वाग्देवी नः प्रसीदतु ॥ ४ ॥
आयुर्वेदगुरौ स्वर्गं गते विजयरक्षिते ।
चक्रसंग्रहरत्नस्य कुबोधमलिनद्विषः ॥ ५ ॥
तत्रांतरगुणाकर्षगुरूक्तीनां च घर्षणात् ।
श्रीनिश्चलकरेणाथ प्रभा तस्य प्रकाश्यते ॥ ६ ॥
अपि रत्नप्रभे पुत्री सदाकरगुणान्वये ।
निःशंकमकलंकेन भजस्व भिषजां वरम् ॥ ७ ॥
योगव्याख्याप्रशं(संगेन) लेख्य योगान्तरं मया ।
सुदृष्टं च प्रसिद्धं च युक्तिसिद्धं च नाम च ॥ ८ ॥

2. *Osteology*, p. 17.

3. Compare the following analogous metaphor used by Indu in his commentary *Śaśilekhā* on the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I :—

दुर्व्याख्या विषसुप्तस्य वाहटस्यास्मदुक्तयः ।
संतु संवित्तदायिन्यः सदागमपरिष्कृताः ॥ ६ ॥

Vide edition of the *A. Saṁgraha* by R. D. Kinjavadekar, 1938—*Sūtrasthāna*—Introductory verses.)

would enable us to fix the date of the *Ratnaprabhā* to about 1300 A.D. In this case we have to imagine that the death of Vijaya Rakṣita (about 1240 A.D.) was looked upon in contemporary medical circles as a great loss to the science of *Āyurveda*. Our commentator being perhaps a junior contemporary of Vijaya Rakṣita and a great admirer of this *Āyurveda-guru* deplores the demise of this *guru* and himself undertakes the work of giving proper interpretation of Cakrapāṇidatta's work by way of his tribute to the departed guru. He, therefore, asks his daughter रत्नप्रभा to serve the pre-eminent physician (भजस्व भिषजां वरम्).

If the above hypothesis gets corroborated by further internal evidence or by external evidence the reference to खारनाद by Niścalakara becomes almost contemporaneous with Hemādri's references to खारणादि reproduced in detail in this paper.

[Samarth Bharat Press, Poona 2]

अश्वों के कुछ विशिष्ट नाम

(ई० पूर्व के १००० से १२०० तक)

श्री पी० के० गोडे एम्० ए०

हेमचन्द्र (१०८८ से ११७२) ने अपने **अभिधानचिन्तामणि** शब्द-कोश में वर्णानुसार अश्वों के निम्नलिखित नामों का उल्लेख किया है—

क्रम	नाम	वर्ण	हेमचन्द्र की व्याख्या
१.	कर्कः	सित	करोति प्रमोदं कर्कः "कृगो वा" (उणा–२३) इति कः (**अमरकोष** में 'कर्क' का उल्लेख श्वेत अश्व के लिए आया है—"सितः कर्कः")
२.	कोकाहः (ज[1]–१)	,,	कोकवत् आहन्ति भुवं **कोकाहः**
३.	खोङ्गाहः (ज–२)	श्वेतपिङ्गल	खमुद्गाहते खोङ्गाहः, पृषोदरादित्वात्, **श्वेतश्चासौ पिङ्गलश्च श्वेतपिङ्गलः**
४.	सेराहः (ज–६) (स[2]–५)	पीयूषवर्ण	पीयूषं अमृतं दुग्धं वा तद्वद्वर्णोऽस्य पीयूषवर्णः तत्र सीरवदाहन्ति भुवं **सेराहः**
५.	हरियाः (ज–३)	पीत	हरिं वर्णं याति **हरियः**
६.	खुङ्गाहः (ज–२)	कृष्णवर्ण	खुरैर्गाहते **खुङ्गाहः**
७.	क्रियाहः	लोहित	क्रियां न **जहाति**
८.	आनीलः (ज–८) (स–७)	नीलक	नील एव **नीलकः**
९.	त्रियूहः (ज–९)	कपिल	त्रीन् यूथानि **त्रियूहः**
१०.	वोल्लाहः (ज–२१)	कपिल और पाण्डु केशर वालधि	अयं **त्रियूहः** एव व्योम्नि उल्लङ्घते **वोल्लाहः**
११.	उराहः (ज–१४) (स–१३)	मनाक् पाण्डु , और कृष्णजंघ	उरसा आहन्ति **उराहः**

[1] ज—जयदत्त। [2] स—सोमेश्वर।

क्रम	नाम	वर्ण	हेमचन्द्र की व्याख्या
१२.	सूरूहकः (देखिये सरुराहक) (ज–२१)	गर्दभाभ	सुखेन रोहति सुरूहकः
१३.	वोरुखान (ज–१५)	पाटल	वैरिणः खनति वोरुखानः
१४.	कुलाहः (ज–१३)	मनाक्पीतः कृष्णः स्यात् यदि जानुनि	कुलम् आजिहीते कुलाहः
१५.	उकनाहः (ज–१६)	पीतरक्तच्छायः और कृष्णरक्तच्छायः	उच्चै नह्यते उकनाहः। सण्व उकनाहः। कृष्णरक्तच्छायः सन् क्वचिदुच्यते।
१६.	शोणः	कोकनदच्छविः	शोणः शोणवर्णः
१७.	हरिकः (ज–३)	पीतहरितच्छायः	हरिरेव हरिकः
१८.	हालकः	,,	हलति क्ष्मां हालकः
१९.	पङ्गुलः देखिये पिङ्गल (स–२०)	सितकाचाभः	पङ्गून् लाति पङ्गुलः
२०.	हलाहः (ज–११) (स–१८)	चित्रितः	चित्रितो कर्बूरवर्णो हलवदाहन्ति हलाहः

हेमचन्द्र ने विभिन्न घोड़ों की उक्त सूची (भूमिकाण्ड, छन्द ३०३ से ३०९) को निम्नलिखित टिप्पणी देकर पूर्ण कर दिया है—

"खोङ्गाहादयः शब्दा देशीप्रायाः। व्युत्पत्तिस्त्वेषां वर्णानुपूर्वी निश्चयार्थम्" (खोङ्गाह तथा दूसरे नाम प्रायः देशी हैं। निश्चय अर्थ में उनकी व्युत्पत्ति घोड़ों के विभिन्न वर्णों के आधार पर की गई है।) हेमचन्द्र के इस कथन से कि विभिन्न वर्णों के अश्वों के ये नाम 'देशीप्रायाः' हैं, पता चलता है कि हेमचन्द्र विश्वस्त नहीं थे कि ये निश्चित रूप से देशी शब्द ही हैं। फिर भी यह स्पष्ट है कि इन नामों का प्रचलन हेमचन्द्र के समय अर्थात् ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी में था। अब हम देखें कि ये नाम या इनमें से कुछ हेमचन्द्र के समय में अथवा उसके निकटवर्ती वर्षों में रचे गये अन्य संस्कृत ग्रन्थों में मिलते हैं या नहीं। वस्तुतः चालुक्य वंशी राजा सोमेश्वर द्वारा सन् ११३० ई० के लगभग (जबकि हेमचन्द्र क़रीब ४२ वर्ष के थे) रचित 'मानसोल्लास'[१] (अथवा 'अभिलषितार्थ चिन्तामणि') नामक विश्वकोश के पोलो-अध्याय में, जिसे 'वाजिवाह्यालीविनोद' कहा गया है, हमें कुछ नामों का उल्लेख मिलता है। इस अध्याय में अधिकारी अफ़सर द्वारा लाये गये अनेक प्रकार के घोड़ों, उनकी नस्लों और वर्णों की परीक्षा करने के लिए राजा को परामर्श दिये गये हैं। राजा को घोड़ों की नस्ल का निर्णय जिन देशों से वे आये थे, उनके आधार पर करना था। विभिन्न देशों के नाम, जिनमें घोड़ों की उत्पत्ति हुई थी, सोमेश्वर ने दिये हैं। उन्होंने घोड़ों के शरीर के विशिष्ट चिह्नों का भी उल्लेख किया है और वर्णों तथा जाति के आधार पर, जो कि संख्या में चार हैं, वर्गीकरण किया है। उन्होंने

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[१] गायकवाड़ ओरियंटल सीरीज़ बड़ोदा में प्रकाशित, भाग २ (१९३९) पृ० २११—तथा भूमिका, पृ० ३४।

विभिन्न प्रकार के घोड़ों की विशेषताओं पर भी, जिनमें घोड़ों के शरीर की गठन भी सम्मिलित है, प्रकाश डाला है। यहाँ उन्होंने 'पंचकल्याण' तथा 'अष्टमङ्गल' घोड़ों का उल्लेख किया है। तदनन्तर घोड़ों की गति—अधिक, मध्यम और धीमी—का विभाजन किया है। दोषपूर्ण घोड़ों के चिह्न भी उन्होंने दिये हैं। घोड़ों को सजा देने तथा शिक्षण योग्य बनाने के तरीक़ों को भी बताया है। शिक्षण पूर्ण हो जाने पर ये घोड़े राजा के काम आते थे। सर्वोत्तम अश्वों को सर्वोत्तम ज़ीन तथा आभूषणों से सुसज्जित किया जाता था और राजा उन पर सवारी करते थे।

वर्णों के आधार पर घोड़ों के नाम देने के पूर्व सोमेश्वर लिखते हैं—

"**श्वेतः कृष्णोऽरुणः पीतः** शुद्धाश्चत्वार एव हि।
मिश्रास्त्वनेकधा **वर्णास्तेषां** भेदः प्रवक्ष्यते ॥८२॥"

(अर्थात् सफ़ेद, काले, लाल और पीले, ये ही चार विशुद्ध वर्ण हैं। उनके मिश्रण तो अनेक हैं। उनके भेदों को आगे बताया जायगा)।

विभिन्न वर्णों तथा जातियों के घोड़ों के सोमेश्वर द्वारा उल्लिखित नामों का नीचे दी हुई तालिका पर एक निगाह में ही आभास हो जायगा—

नं०	नाम	वर्ण	जाति	विवरण
१	कक(र्क) (ह–१)	श्वेत	विप्र	केशा वालाश्च रोमाणि वर्म चैव खुरास्तथा। श्वैतैरेतैर्भवेदश्वः कका(र्का)ह्वो विप्रजातिजः ॥८३॥
२	कत्तल	शुक्ल या श्वेत	,,	पूर्ववत्सर्व**शुक्लाङ्गस्त्वचा कृष्णो** भवेद्यदि। वर्णनाम्ना स विज्ञेयः कत्तलोऽयं तुरङ्गमः ॥८४॥
३	काल	कृष्ण	शूद्र	लोमभिः केशवालैश्च त्वचा **कृष्णः** खुरैरपि। **काल** इत्युच्यते वाजी **शूद्रः** शौर्याधिकस्तथा ॥८५॥
४	कपाह (कवाह) (ह–७)	रोहित	क्षत्रजाति	केशप्रभृति वालान्तः सर्वाङ्गे **रोहितो** यदि। **कयाह** इति विख्यातः **क्षत्रजाति** तुरङ्गमः ॥८६॥
५	सेराह (ह–४)	काञ्चनाभ	वैश्य	केशैस्तनुरुहैर्वालैः **काञ्चनाभैस्तु**रङ्गमः। **सेराह** इति विख्यातः वैश्यजाति समुद्भवः ॥८७॥
६	चोर	सिल+लोहित	,,	**सिललोहित** रोमाणि सर्वाङ्गे **मिश्रितानि च**। मुखाङ्घ्रि वालकेशेषु **लोहितश्चोर** उच्यते ॥८८॥
७	नील (ह–८)	सितकृष्ण	,,	केशवालाङ्घ्रितुण्डे च मेचको रुरुसन्निभः। **नील** इत्युच्यते वाजी **सितकृष्णे** तनूरुहे ॥८९॥
८	कया(पा)ह	कृष्ण इत्यादि	,,	पाटलीपुष्पसंका(शो)शानलकेषु सितेतरः। कृष्णग्रन्थि**कया(पा)होश्वः** सङ्ग्रामे विजयप्रदः ॥९०॥
९	मोह	मधूक वल्कल	,,	मधूकवल्कलच्छायो **मोह** इत्युच्यते हयः।
१०	जम्ब	पक्वजम्बूफल	,,	पक्वजम्बूफलच्छायो **जम्ब** इत्यभिधीयते ॥९१॥
११	हरित (ह–५) (ह–१७)	पीत+लोहित	,,	केशवालेषु **पीतश्च लोहितो** हरितो मतः।
१२	सप्त(प्ति)रुन्दीर	उन्दुरवर्ण	,,	उन्दुरेण समच्छायः **सप्त(प्ति)रुन्दीर** उच्यते ॥९२॥
१३	उराह (ह–११)	मेचक+पीत+लोहित	,,	केशकेसर पुच्छे च जानुनोऽधश्च **मेचकः**। सर्वाङ्गलोहितैः पीतै**रुराहः** कथ्यते हयः ॥९३॥

नं०	नाम	वर्ण	जाति	विवरण
१४	गण्ठि(मण्ठ)वर्ण	शोण इत्यादि	वैश्य	शेष (शोण) स्तेष्वेव देशेषु सर्वाङ्गे किञ्चिदुज्वलः। रक्तरेखाङ्कितः पृष्ठे **गण्ठि (मण्ठ)** वर्णस्तुरङ्गमः ॥९४॥
१५	पञ्चकल्याण	पाण्डुर	,,	येनकेनापि वर्णेन मुखे पुच्छे च (पादेषु) पाण्डुरः। **पञ्चकल्याण** नामायं भाषितः सोमभूभुजा ॥९५॥
१६	अष्टमण्ठा(ङ्ग)ल	पाण्डुर	,,	केशेषु वदने पुच्छे वंशे पादे च पाण्डुरः। **अष्ट मण्ठा (ङ्ग) ल** नामा च सर्ववर्णेषु शस्यते ॥९६॥
१७	धौतपाद	श्वेत इत्यादि	,,	श्वेतः सर्वेषु पादेषु पादयोर्वापि यो भवेत्। **धौतपादः** स विज्ञेयः प्रशस्तो मुखपुण्ड्रकः ॥९७॥
१८	हलाह (ह—२०)	श्वेत इत्यादि	,,	विशालैः पट्टकैः श्वेतैः स्थाने स्थाने विराजितः। येन केनापि वर्णेन **हलाह** इति कथ्यते ॥९८॥
१९	तरंज	चित्रित	,,	चित्रितः पार्श्वदेशे च श्वेतबिन्दुकदम्बकैः। यो वा को वा भवेद्वर्णस्**तरञ्जः** कथ्यते हयः ॥९९॥
२०	पिङ्गल	सित+कृष्ण इत्यादि	,,	सितस्य विन्दवः कृष्णाः स्थूलाः सूक्ष्माः समन्ततः। दृश्यन्ते वाजिनो यस्य **पिङ्गलः** स निगद्यते ॥१००॥
२१	बहुलया मलिन	श्वेत+श्यामल	,,	श्वेतस्य सर्वगात्रेषु श्यामला मण्डला यदि। एके तं बहुलं प्राहुरपरे मलिनं बुधाः ॥१०१॥

सोमेश्वर की उक्त सूची की हेमचन्द्र की सूची से तुलना करने पर हमें पता चलता है कि निम्नलिखित नाम दोनों सूचियों में हैं—

(१) कर्क (२) सेराह (३) नील या नीलक (४) उराह (५) हलाह और संभवतः (६) पिङ्गल या पङ्गुल।

यह केवल संयोग की बात नहीं है। यद्यपि सोमेश्वर दक्षिण में राज्य करते थे और हेमचन्द्र गुजरात में रहते थे तथापि इन दोनों प्रान्तों में निरन्तर पारस्परिक सम्पर्क रहता था। हेमचन्द्र के आश्रयदाता महाराज कुमारपाल ने दो बार कोंकन पर आक्रमण किया और शिलाहार वंश का राजा मल्लिकार्जुन इन आक्रमणों[1] में से एक में मारा गया। यह बहुत सम्भव है कि दक्षिण की कुछ अश्वविद्या गुजरात पहुँची होगी और गुजरात की दक्षिण में; क्योंकि निरन्तर युद्ध में रत राजाओं के लिए अश्वविद्या का बड़ा मूल्य था।

सोमेश्वर और हेमचन्द्र ने जिन नामों का ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी में उल्लेख किया है, उनमें से कुछ विजयदत्त के पुत्र महासामन्त जयदत्त के द्वारा घोड़ों के विषय में लिखे 'अश्ववैद्यक'[2] नामक निबन्ध में भी पाये जाते हैं। निबन्ध के अन्त में कुछ मादक द्रव्यों के नाम भी आते हैं और सम्पादक का कथन है कि उनका जयदत्त ने उल्लेख किया है। उन नामों में मुझे पृष्ठ ३ पर 'अहिफेन' या 'अफ़ीम' का नाम मिलता है। यदि यह कथन सही है तो मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि यह निबन्ध मुसलमानों के भारत में आगमन के पश्चात् लिखा गया है; क्योंकि आठवीं शताब्दी में मुसलमानों

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[1] एस० चित्राव शास्त्री (पूना) रचित 'मध्ययुगीनचरित्रकोश' १९३७, पृ० २४०। प्राकृत द्व्याश्रयकाव्य (सर्ग ६) के ४१ से ७० तक छंद देखिये, जिनमें कुमारपाल के कोंकण पर कूच का वर्णन है।

[2] सम्पादक उमेशचन्द्र गुप्त, बिब० इंडिका, कलकत्ता, १८८६। तीसरे अध्याय के ९८-११० छन्दों में वर्णों के अनुसार घोड़ों की क़िस्मों का वर्णन है। (पृष्ठ ३८-४३)।

के आने[1] के पूर्व भारतीय साहित्य में कहीं भी 'अफ़ीम' का नाम नहीं था। सम्भवतः यह निबन्ध सन् ८०० और १२०० के बीच लिखा गया था। नकुल द्वारा रचित 'अश्वचिकित्सितं' नामक अश्व-सम्बन्धी निबन्ध में, जिसका सम्पादन सन् १८८७ में बिब्लिओथिका इंडिका में उल्लिखित जयदत्त के ग्रन्थ के सम्पादक ने किया था, हेमचन्द्र, सोमेश्वर और जयदत्त द्वारा बताये गये घोड़ों के नाम नहीं आते। फिर भी नकुल के ग्रन्थ के तीसरे अध्याय में वर्णों के आधार पर घोड़ों का उल्लेख है; पर उनके नाम भिन्न हैं। वे नाम संस्कृत में हैं, 'देशी प्रायाः' नहीं हैं, जैसा कि हेमचन्द्र ने लिखा है। नीचे की तालिका में मैं सविस्तर वर्णों के हिसाब से घोड़ों के कुछ विशेष नाम देता हूँ, जिनका उल्लेख जयदत्त ने अपने 'अश्ववैद्यक' में किया है—

नं०	नाम	वर्ण	विवरण
१	कोकाहः (ह—२)	श्वेत	श्वेतः कोकाह इत्युक्तः
२	खुङ्गाहः (पिङ्गाह) (ह—३)	कृष्ण	कृष्णः खुङ्गाह उच्यते
३	हरितः (ह—५—१७)	पीतक	पीतको हरितः प्रोक्तः
४	कषायः	रक्तक	कषायो रक्तकः स्मृतः
५	कयाहः (स—८)	पक्वतालनिभ	पक्वतालनिभो वाजी कयाहः परिकीर्तितः।
६	सेराहः (ह-४) (स-५)	पीयूषवर्ण	पीयूषवर्णः सेराहः
७	सुरूहकः (ह—१२)	गर्द्दभाभ	गर्द्दभाभः सुरूहकः
८	नील (ह-८) (स-७)	नीलक	नीलो नीलक श्यावाश्वः
९	त्रियूहः (ह—९)	कपिल	त्रियूहः कपिलः स्मृतः
१०	खिलाहः (शिलह)	कपिल	खिलाहः कपिलो वाजी पाण्डुकेशरवालधिः।
११	हलाहः (ह-२०)(स-१८)	चित्रल	हलाहः चित्रलश्चैव
१२	खङ्गाह (खेङ्गाह)	श्वेतपीतक	खङ्गाहः श्वेतपीतकः
१३	कुलाहः (ह—१४)	ईषत्पीत	ईषत्पीतः कुलाहस्तुयोभवेत्कृष्णजानुकः
१४	उराहः (उरूहः) (ह-११) (स-१३)	कष्ण—पाण्डु इत्यादि	कृष्णाचास्ये भवेल्लेखा पृष्ठवंशानुगामिनी। उराहः कृष्णजानुस्तु मनाक्पाण्डु स्तुं यो भवेत् ॥१०४॥
१५	वेरुहानः (वीरुहण) (ह—१३)	पाटल	वेरुहानः स्मृतो वाजी पाटलो यः प्रकीर्तितः। रक्तपीतकषायोत्थवर्णजो यश्च दृश्यते ॥१०५॥
१६	उकनाहः (दुकूलाहः) (ह—१५)	देहज वर्ण	उकनाहः स विख्यातो वर्णो वाहस्य देहजः।
१७	कोकुराहः	मुखपुण्ड्रक के साथ	कोकाहः पुण्ड्रकेणाश्वः कोकुराहः प्रकीर्तितः
१८	खरराहः	,,	खरराहश्च खङ्गाहो (पुण्ड्रकेण)
१९	हरिरोहकः	,,	हरिको हरिरोहकः (पुण्ड्रकेण)

[1] हेमचन्द्र के आश्रयदाता जयसिंह सिद्धराज (ई० १०९३-११४३) की राजधानी अणहिलपुर में अल इद्रिसी नामक भूगोल-विशेषज्ञ गया था। वह लिखता है—"शहर में बहुत से मुसलमान-व्यापारी हैं, जो यहाँ व्यापार करते हैं। राजा उनका ख़ूब सत्कार करता है।". (देखिये आर० सी० पारीख कृत काव्यानुसार की भूमिका, पृष्ठ १९४, बम्बई, १९३८, । ह—हेमचन्द्र। स—सोमेश्वर।

नं०	नाम	वर्ण	विवरण
२०	सुराहः	मुखपुण्ड्रक के साथ	कुलाहः. . . .सुराहः (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२१	सुरुराहकः सुरूहक (ह–१२)	,,	वोल्लाहः. . . .सरुराहकः (पुण्ड्रकेण) (ह–१०)
२२	वोरुराह	,,	वीरुराहः. . . .वोरुराहः (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२३	दुरूराहः	,,	दुकुलाह. . . .दुरूराहः (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२४	त्रियुराहः	चित्रलाङ्ग	त्रियूहः त्रियुराहश्च चित्रलाङ्गश्च यो भवेत् ।

मैंने जयदत्त के 'अश्ववैद्यक' में से घोड़ों की नामावली की तालिका जितनी अच्छी तरह से उसे समझकर बना सकता था, बना दी है। यह नामावली उस नामावली से भिन्न है, जो शालिहोत्र ने घोड़ों-सम्बन्धी अपने निबन्ध में दी है और जिसका बार-बार जयदत्त ने उल्लेख किया है। जयदत्त के समय में प्राचीन परिभाषा ग़लत साबित हो चुकी थी और इसी कारण जयदत्त ने अपने समय में प्रचलित नामावली को ही लिया; क्योंकि इस प्रकार के उल्लेख की व्यावहारिक उपयोगिता थी। जयदत्त ने निम्निलिखित छन्दों में अपने इस ध्येय को व्यक्त किया है—

"चक्रवाकादिभिर्वर्णैः शालिहोत्रादिभिः स्मृतैः ।
पाटलाद्यैश्च लोकस्य व्यवहारो न साम्प्रतम् ॥६८॥
तस्मात्प्रसिद्धकान्वर्णान् वाजिनां देहसम्भवान् ।
समासेन यथायोग्यं कथयाम्यनुपूर्वशः ॥६६॥

घोड़ों के वर्णों के आधार पर उनके नामों की तीनों सूचियों से पता चलता है कि जयदत्त और सोमेश्वर (११३०) की सूचियाँ हेमचन्द्र की अपेक्षा अधिक पूर्ण हैं। इन तीनों सूचियों में बहुत से नाम समान होने से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि ग्यारहवीं और बारहवीं शताब्दी में अश्व-विद्या का खूब प्रचलन था। इस अश्व-विद्या का निश्चित रूप से विदेशी अश्व-व्यापार से भी सम्बन्ध था, जो लगभग ८०० ई० पू० के बाद भारतीय बन्दरगाहों के साथ चल रहा था; जैसा मैंने अन्यत्र लिखा है।[1] हेमचन्द्र कहते हैं कि यह नामावली 'देशीप्रायाः' है। मेरा यह विश्वास है कि इन नामों में से कुछ फ़ारसी हैं और कुछ अरबी, और वे फ़ारसी, अरबी, तुर्की तथा अन्य घोड़ों की नस्लों के भारत में आने के साथ आये, जैसा कि विस्तार से मार्को पोलो ने अपने यात्रा-विवरणों (१२६८ ई०) में लिखा है। घोड़ों के विदेशी आयात के सम्बन्ध में मार्को पोलो के विवरण की पुष्टि डा० एस० के० ऐयंगर के निम्नलिखित विवरण से हो जाती है, जो उन्होंने 'कायल' नामक मलाबार के बन्दरगाह में १६०० ई० के लगभग प्रचलित अश्व-व्यापार के बारे में तैयार किया था—

दक्षिण में मनार की खाड़ी में तमरपर्णी के मुहाने पर कायल नामक एक बहुत ही सुरक्षित बन्दरगाह था, जो सुप्रसिद्ध 'क्रोरकोइ' (जिसे यूनानी भूगोल-लेखकों ने 'कोलखोइ' कहा है) से दूर न था। १२६० ई० के लगभग कायल एक प्रसिद्ध व्यापारिक केन्द्र था और वहाँ पर 'किश' के एक अरबी सरदार मलिकुलइस्लाम जमालुद्दीन ने, जो बाद में 'फ़ार्स' का फ़ार्मर जनरल हो गया था, एक एजेन्सी क़ायम की थी। 'वसफ़' के कथनानुसार इस समय लगभग दस हज़ार घोड़े कायल और भारत के अन्य बन्दरगाहों में व्यापार के लिए बाहर से लाये गये थे, जिनमें १४०० घोड़े स्वयं जमालुद्दीन के घोड़ों की नस्ल के थे। हर एक घोड़े का औसत मूल्य चमकते हुए सोने के बने हुए २२० दीनार था। उन घोड़ों का मूल्य भी जो रास्ते में मर गये थे पांडय राजा को, जिसके लिए वे लाये गये थे, देना पड़ा था। मालूम होता है, जमालुद्दीन का एजेन्ट फ़क़ीरुद्दीन अब्दुर्रहमान मुहम्मदुतटयैबी का बेटा, जिसे मरजबान (मारग्रेव) के नाम से भी पुकारा

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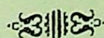
[1] भांडारकर ओरियंटल रिसर्च इंस्टीच्यूट की पत्रिका, भाग २६, पृ० ८६-१०५

गया है, जमालुद्दीन का भाई था। इस एजेन्ट का हेडक्वार्टर कायल में था और 'फ़ितान' और मालीफ़ितान के अन्य बन्दरगाहों पर भी उसका नियन्त्रण था। इस वृत्तान्त से पता चलता है कि वह इस भू-प्रदेश में अरबवासियों के भारत में आयात-व्यापार का एजेन्ट-जनरल था। इस आधार पर यह निश्चित है कि इस प्रदेश का व्यापार उस समय बहुत बढ़ा-चढ़ा था। वसफ़ के शब्दों में मलाबार लम्बाई में कुलम से नीलपर (नीलौर) तक लगभग तीन-सौ परसंग समुद्र के किनारे-किनारे फैला हुआ है और उस देश की भाषा में राजा 'देवर' कहलाता है, जिसका अर्थ है राज्य का मालिक। 'चिन' और 'मचिन' की विशिष्ट चीजें तथा हिन्द और सिन्ध की पैदावार से लदे हुए पर्वताकार जहाज़ (जिन्हें वे 'जंक' कहते थे) वहाँ पानी की सतह पर इस प्रकार चले आते थे मानों उनके हवा के पंख लगे हों। ख़ास तौर पर फ़ारस की खाड़ी के टापुओं की सम्पत्ति और ईराक़ और ख़ुरासान तथा रूम और योरुप के बहुत-से भागों की सौन्दर्यपूर्ण तथा सजावट की चीज़ें 'मलाबार' को ही पहुँचती हैं। मलाबार की स्थिति ऐसी है कि उसे 'हिन्द की कुंजी' कह सकते हैं।[1]

उपर्युक्त १२६० ई० के भारत के विदेशी व्यापार और विशेषकर अश्व-व्यापार के विशद वर्णन से वर्णानुसार, जैसा हेमचन्द्र, सोमेश्वर और जयदत्त ने उल्लेख किया है, घोड़ों के नामों की उत्पत्ति स्पष्ट हो जायगी। यह बात ध्यान-पूर्वक और दिलचस्पी के साथ देखने की है कि उन १०,००० घोड़ों में से, जो कायल में बाहर से लाये गये थे, १४०० घोड़े जमालुद्दीन के खुद के घोड़ों की नस्ल के थे। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है कि 'वोरुखान' घोड़े का नाम, जिसका उल्लेख हेमचन्द्र ने किया है, 'वोरुखान' अश्वपालक के नाम पर ही रक्खा गया होगा। यदि वह अनुमान सत्य है तो हेमचन्द्र के "वैरिणः खनति वोरुखानः" नाम की व्याख्या उसकी अन्य घोड़ों के नाम की व्याख्या की तरह दिखा-वटी तथा काल्पनिक हो सकती है। हेमचन्द्र ने 'वोरुखान' घोड़े का पाटल वर्ण बतलाया है। जयदत्त ने 'वेरुहान' या 'वीरुहण' घोड़े का पाटल रंग बतलाया है। मेरे विचार से 'वोरुखान' और 'वेरूहान' दोनों शब्द एक ही हैं। वे इस नाम के किसी अरबी अश्वपालक की ओर ही संकेत करते हैं, जैसा कि ऊपर कह चुका हूँ।

प्रस्तुत लेख में तीन अलग-अलग संस्कृत के समकालीन आधारों पर अश्वनामावली तैयार करने में मुझे कुछ सफलता मिली है।[2] इस विषय में दिलचस्पी रखने वाले विद्वानों से मेरा अनुरोध है कि वे इतर-संस्कृत ग्रन्थों के आधार पर इस बारे में प्रकाश डालने की कृपा करें। सम्भवतः इतर-संस्कृत ग्रन्थों में, भेनोफ़ोन का ग्रीक निबन्ध तथा शालिहोत्र, जयदत्त एवं नकुल के संस्कृत निबन्ध भी इस विषय पर प्रकाश डाल सकते हैं।

पूना]



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[1] इलियट, ३, ३२; एस० के० ऐयंगर, 'साउथ इंडिया ऐंड हर मुहैमेडन इनवैडर्स', आक्सफ़ोर्ड यूनिवर्सिटी प्रेस, १९२१, पृ० ७०-७१

[2] हेमचन्द्र की सूची में प्रयुक्त बीस नामों में से पन्द्रह जयदत्त की सूची में पाये जाते हैं। इस प्रकार के संयोग से हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचते हैं कि कालक्रम के अनुसार हेमचन्द्र और जयदत्त एक दूसरे से बहुत दूर नहीं हैं, विशेषकर जब हमें इस बात का स्मरण होता है कि हेमचन्द्र ने इन नामों का उल्लेख अपने समय के प्रचलित नामों के आधार पर ही किया है। दूसरे, जयदत्त ने स्पष्ट लिखा है कि उसने केवल अपने समय के पहले के प्रचलित नामों को ही लिया है, क्योंकि शालिहोत्र तथा अन्य व्यक्तियों द्वारा लिखी गई अश्वनामावलियों में आये हुए नामों का प्रयोग उसके समय में बन्द हो गया था।



तिथि	संख्या	तिथि	संख्या